THE SURVEY

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The Gist of It

OUT of her vacation trip to England, FRANCES PERKINS builds up a scheme for unemployment insurance which she believes will meet the conditions in America—a government not by the State but by forty-eight states, the threat of extra costs to progressive as against backward states, the menace of politics, the widespread fear of the dole. It is based on the practical experience of her own state, New York, of which she is the industrial commissioner. Page 117.

TO turn cattle, hogs and sheep into roasts and hams and chops used to be the job of the town butcher. Today most butchers buy their goods, as do other retailers, from the large-scale manufacturer. How Chicago's great meat-packing industry has become the setting for a going scheme to give wage-earners a steady income and a sense of security is told (page 121) by HAROLD H. SWIFT of the Union Stock Yards. Mr. Swift, one of the six sons of the founder of Swift & Company, is a vice-president and director of the company. He is also president of the trustees of the University of Chicago and a member of the board of Survey Associates.

THE quaint conception of the medical profession as possessed of all the strengths and weaknesses of a turtle with its hard shell (page 127) is the vehicle in which DR. DONALD B. ARMSTRONG puts forward his provocative statement of where the doctors stand in days of turmoil. Dr. Armstrong is a vice-president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in charge of policy-holders' health and welfare following long experience in public health work.

EVERY industrial nation in the world was represented at the recent Amsterdam Congress of the International Industrial Relations' Association, which has for its purpose the promotion of satisfactory human relations and conditions in industry. The admirable summary of the discussions on page 131 is by MARY VAN KLEECK, of the Russell Sage Foundation, who is a vice-president of the Association and was chairman of the program committee. The Congress announced a continuing committee for the study of social-economic planning with Miss van Kleeck as chairman and headquarters at 130 East 22 Street, New York.

THE epoch-making reports on crime of the Wickersham Commission are reviewed, page 134, by WINTHROP D. LANE, director of parole of the Department of Institutions and Agencies of the State of New Jersey, a student of crime since his early journalistic days on the staff of The Survey.

READERS know of ELIZABETH GLENDOWER EVANS of Boston chiefly as the tireless, intelligent, inspired friend of Sacco and Vanzetti—the one who kept interest in them alive during their dragging years in the death-house; and of other individuals and groups who have had less than a fair chance. Here (page 138) she writes as the intimate friend of Mr. Justice Brandeis of the United States Supreme Court on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday.

WHETHER or not the federal government makes an appropriation for relief of unemployment, there will undoubtedly be a great drive to secure it. Here, in an open letter to the President, WILLIAM HODSON suggests the preliminary studies that ought to be made in either event. He writes out of his experience as director of the Welfare Council of New York City and chairman of a sub-committee of the White House Conference of a year ago which dug into the subject of federal grants-in-aid. Page 144.

THE revealing story of Meester Gibich (page 146) comes to us through the Wisconsin Anti-Tuberculosis Association, which has a gift for discovering talent among patients in the sanatoria of the state. JAMES M. FELKER, the author, late of the University of Minnesota, is both patient and a director of occupational therapy—a combination which means, one hopes, that the slow, steady "cure" of rest and sunshine has succeeded.

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"YOUNG MAN DESIRES POSITION"

Painting by Gordon Samstag

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Unemployment Insurance

An American Plan to Protect Workers and Avoid the Dole

By FRANCES PERKINS

NOT as a research worker "investigating" Britain's experiment with unemployment insurance, but as an administrative official seeking light on the aims, the accomplishments and the technique of that vast project, I recently spent six weeks in England. I visited the southern counties where there is no "abnormal" unemployment and where there has been none during England's decade of depression, and also the Midlands, the coal area and the Clydeside, where men and women formerly employed in mining, textiles and shipbuilding have been jobless, some of them for years. My wanderings took me through country lanes, along village roads, through fine city streets, into the slum districts of London, Plymouth, Liverpool, Manchester. I had chances to talk with bankers, government officials, industrial managers, professional people, trade-union leaders, merchants, workmen. I visited local unemployment insurance offices, sat in at sessions of referees, and umpire's courts, where doubtful and "refused" claims for benefits are reviewed.

I soon drew a line between insurance itself, an active, going mutual scheme, and the "dole" which carries the load of those who drop through and constitutes national mass relief. What I saw convinced me that compulsory insurance against the ordinary hazards of industrial unemployment is sound in principle. I should like to set down here what struck me as the values in unemployment insurance to the community as well as to the workers themselves. It is, of course, only fair in such a discussion to point out some of the administrative difficulties involved. Finally, I want to suggest a possible method of so setting up an American plan of unemployment insurance as to keep the administration of the fund out of politics, and cut down the risk of "penalizing" employers doing business across state lines through the enactment of compulsory legislation.

Miss Perkins, New York state industrial commissioner, came back from England with a plan for setting up unemployment insurance in the United States in a way she believes would be fair to workers, to employers and to the public—a plan free from politics and organized on a pattern of public work which has been proved a success in this country. She sets it forth here for the first time.

On my last visit to England, before the War, I brought back memories of widespread human misery so vivid that they have remained with me through all the crowded years since 1913. At that time, poverty was an inescapable part of the British scene. People who were cold because they had only rags to wear were seen on the streets—men and women with bare feet or feet wrapped in old bits of cloth, and with tattered garments pinned and tied together. One often looked into pinched, white sodden faces. More than once I saw little children staring ravenously through bakeshop windows. Drunkenness was a familiar part of the picture, for desperate people will often spend a few coppers for liquor and forgetfulness rather than for inadequate food.

But the England of 1931 is not the England of 1913. I went from town to town, through one city after another and never saw people in rags or shoeless. I did not encounter that drawn look that comes from years of underfeeding and despair, except on the faces of a few aged unemployables. The English in general wear clothes that seem to an American dull and monotonous but people on the streets have good, warm, "durable" clothes these days and they all have shoes.

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Housing is also better than it used to be, both in comfort and in sanitation. The only drunken person I saw in England this summer was an American girl in a hotel lobby. The "pubs" were well filled but even on Saturday nights in the poorer sections of large cities I saw no "drunks." Coming to England freshly after so long an absence, I was continually impressed by the rise in the standard of living in spite of post-war adjustments and the long depression. This I believe to be due in large part to measures which, wise or unwise in method, have lifted some of the unemployment burden from the backs of the wage-earners and spread it out on industry and the country.

The whole philosophy and method of social insurance are, of course, products of the complex age in which we live. In a simpler society the individual made his own economic plan. He was the master of his tools of labor, and his own strength, ingenuity and willingness to work were all he needed to keep himself and his family fed, clothed, sheltered and provided with the elements his concept of "the good life" required.

But the individual is a far less independent unit in modern capitalistic society. He does not own the machine he uses. The factors that determine the work he does and his return for it are largely outside his control. The insurance principle, devised long ago to protect helpless dependents from the most severe economic effects of their breadwinner's death, has been extended to cover other hazards before which the individual in a machine age is partly or wholly helpless. Thus we have workmen's compensation to cushion the burden and spread the cost of industrial accident. We have old-age pensions to provide for the years when the worker can no longer keep pace with modern industry. Unemployment insurance is another extension of this same principle.

THE present English scene gives a muddled picture of unemployment insurance in action because British unemployment insurance has been almost smothered by the "dole" to the post-war unemployed. The "dole" as has frequently been pointed out (see The Survey, April 1, 1929, page 60) is badly entangled with the unemployment insurance set-up, but it is not a part of it. British unemployment insurance is a three-way scheme, with contributions from the employer, the employe and the state, under an act originally passed in 1911. The "dole," officially known as "uncovenanted benefit" or "extended benefits," has been paid through the unemployment insurance machinery to people who have through prolonged unemployment lost their footing as participants in the insurance scheme, but no contributions warranting such payments from the insurance standpoint were put into the fund. The draft on the insurance fund for the "dole," and the heavy tax on the national treasury to bolster the fund so that it would take care of a vast army of jobless persons for whom it had not been intended to provide, have produced the results which have done so much to discredit the British experiment in the eyes of American critics.

But there are valuable lessons for both England and America in this confusion in applying the insurance principle to a major unemployment emergency. England's experience is rich in positive suggestion as well as in warnings for further experiments with unemployment insurance in this country and abroad.

In viewing what has happened in England, one needs a lively sense of the realities of the situation. Granted that the confusion of unemployment insurance and the "dole" was a mistake, the "dole" itself was a choice between two evils. Millions of people have been without resources of their own in the troubled years following the War. Some demoralization due to idleness was inevitable. Was this demoralization to be increased by hunger, or were the jobless to be enabled to buy food with money which, at the moment, they had not earned? It must not be forgotten that the demoralization of hunger and destitution is long drawn out—it goes even beyond the present generation. There was, of course, a third resource—the jobless could ask charity. In England, where poor relief is locally administered as it is in this country, this would have meant heavy demands for relief resulting in increased taxation in the depressed areas least able to bear such a burden. In the end, it could only have meant widespread destitution, for the coal towns, the textile communities, the Clydeside could not have continued to carry their unemployed without the assistance from the less affected areas which has been provided by the "dole."

THROUGH large scale public relief, England has made it possible for her unemployed to go on buying stockings and coats and flour and blankets, even though they had no jobs. This has lifted some of the load from the wage-earner and his family. It has also lifted some of the load from British business and industry because it has helped keep "the home market" alive. I talked with one of the executives of a chain of five department stores in the "depressed" manufacturing cities of the Midlands. The stores closed their books July 31, 1931 with a handsome profit. I asked this executive how they had managed it. He divided the credit between careful management and unemployment benefits, which, he said, "have kept money moving." Almost every employer with whom I talked said the same thing. After he had wrung his hands over "the dole" I would ask, "Well, what should be done? Should it be abandoned?" I never received an affirmative answer. "After all, it's saved England," was the usual reply. "I don't know what we could have done without it."

Among the positive values to England in having an unemployment insurance set-up has been the knowledge it has given the country of the actual situation. Britain is able now to analyze her own unemployment problem and to determine how it should be met. Well informed people in England—economists, government officials and so on—expect that for some years ahead there will be not less than two million unemployed a year in a wage-earning population of about twelve million. For one million two hundred thousand of these two million, British experience shows that unemployment insurance must and can be provided. About five hundred thousand more workers will not have sufficient insurable work during the year to carry them over periods of seasonal idleness. They must have some additional maintenance, given as the result of a need test, not as a right. For a group of three hundred thousand, provision must be made through social service. They are the aged, the maladjusted, the handicapped who are industrially unemployable.

AT the present time, we in this country cannot look ahead with any degree of certainty, we have no data on which to base estimates of the amount of unemployment with which we shall probably have to deal next year and the year after, nor can we analyze the types of unemployment with which we shall be faced. We do not have the facts which the British system gives.

The most conspicuous blunders of the British experience

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have been political. I doubt whether the American mind could have accepted the plan of dumping all the unemployed on the unemployment insurance fund without payment of premiums. "Yankee sense" functions among politicians, and clearly, insurance money and relief money ought to be kept in separate pockets.

People who are starving must of course be relieved—the whole of modern society rests on some such conception. England has had to learn by a costly experience that a sound insurance scheme cannot bear the whole burden of this social obligation in time of emergency. It is going to be a difficult business from the wage-earner's viewpoint and on the side of the public too, to unscramble the eggs and get back to sound actuarial principles for the unemployment insurance scheme, to adequate relief methods for the uninsured and those whose insurance is insufficient to carry them through big emergencies. Whether or not the American temperament would have permitted us to fall into the mistake of dumping relief on an insurance plan, certainly with England's experience freshly before us, it is unlikely that any emergency would tempt us to try that unsound experiment.

WHILE social insurance theory has wide application, the mechanics of one country's scheme cannot be taken over bodily by another. The English are a homogeneous people, with a common language, background and tradition. That fact affects profoundly the problem of administering a complex law which touches people's lives intimately. I remember sitting in a referee's court where several "doubtful" claims were being reviewed. The procedure is informal. The claimant tells his story in his own way. The three referees ask questions about any points which are not clear, and they may summon witnesses if they feel that further testimony is needed.

None of the claimants whose cases I heard were represented by counsel. Most of them were unskilled workers, but they were able to make a clear statement, and they were fully aware of their rights under the law. One man, for instance, had a fairly involved situation to describe in explaining why he had not accepted a job offered through the local office. If the facts were as he presented them, he was justified in refusing the employment under his trade-union regulations, and was entitled to benefits. The referees asked a few questions to clear up one or two details, then allowed the claim.

"But aren't you going to check his story?" I asked, a good deal surprised.

"That hardly seems necessary," the referee replied. "After all, the man himself knows better than anyone else what his union regulations are and how the work offered him conflicts with them."

Again and again, I was impressed by this British habit of believing one another. It simplifies enormously the job of administering social legislation.

Another element which unemployment insurance would have to take into account in this country is the question of identification. Your English workman answers all his life to the name his parents gave him. In this country, as a matter of convenience, Guiseppi Catalano may be Joe Carter on one firm's records, Jim Lane on the books of another employer. In administering the workmen's compensation law in this state we have found many wage-earners who, with no intent to deceive, have changed their names with almost every job. Their own names are hard to pronounce, confusing to spell, and a shortened version of the real name is used by the "boss" and by fellow-workers. Some ready and reasonably fool-proof system of identification will have to be devised if we are to know that the Tom Paul who lost his job with the X factory last month is the Tim Store who was "let" out by the Y plant in May and whose family know him as Theophilus Sotiropoulos.

Any unemployment insurance measure in its beginning is experimental. If it is to succeed it must be based, so far as that is possible, on known quantities. For this reason, it seems to me unwise to consider for this country unemployment-insurance plans which attempt to divide the benefit fund by industries. So far, we have no reliable basis on which to figure rates under such a scheme. Some industries show the hazard more regularly than others—highly seasonal occupations like the building trades, for example. But an insurance plan, it seems to me, should be drawn with the big emergencies in mind. Its provisions should be framed to give the worker some security in times of widespread unemployment and so safeguard the fund so that it will be relatively adequate to these heavy drains. In an emergency like the current one we cannot say that one industry is more to blame than another for unemployment or for under-employment, and there is no just basis, so far as our present information goes, on which to penalize individual employers or groups of employers for the situation we all face today. From this standpoint, an unemployment insurance plan ought to require a fairly long waiting period—a month, or even longer. This would rule out minor employment breaks in which administration is difficult and expensive, and build up the fund for emergencies against which no degree of forethought or thrift can protect the individual. Where the wage-earner's income is interrupted or reduced for shorter periods, individual "economic planning" should be supplemented by some other form of relief if the family situation requires it.

I believe that industry should foot the bill for unemployment insurance. There is a certain theoretical justice in having each employe contribute directly, but practically it is a complicated scheme, inevitably leading to confusion in administration. All forms of social insurance should, so far as possible, be kept impersonal in their administration. To have Tom Jones and Bill Smith each putting his bit into the fund introduces a highly personal element. It leads to friction and misunderstanding by a dozen roads, particularly if, in the experimental stages, the plan breaks down and even those who have paid into the fund do not receive benefits enough to carry them over a major unemployment emergency. The argument that the benefits will "mean more" to the workers if they have contributed directly to the fund seems to me a sentimental consideration. Our experience with workmen's compensation does not indicate that it has any basis in fact.

THE main obstacles in the way of successful compulsory unemployment insurance in this country have often been indicated: first, the complication of competition between industries in different states and under different laws; second, the danger of "politics" entering into the legislative extension of benefits and into the administration of the law. This has been the chief cause of the present unsound position of the British scheme. As a method of meeting these difficulties I should like to see a group of industrial states experiment with an Insurance Authority, modeled on the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey. Such an authority would have to be set up by treaty between the states, and would be empowered (*Continued on page* 173)

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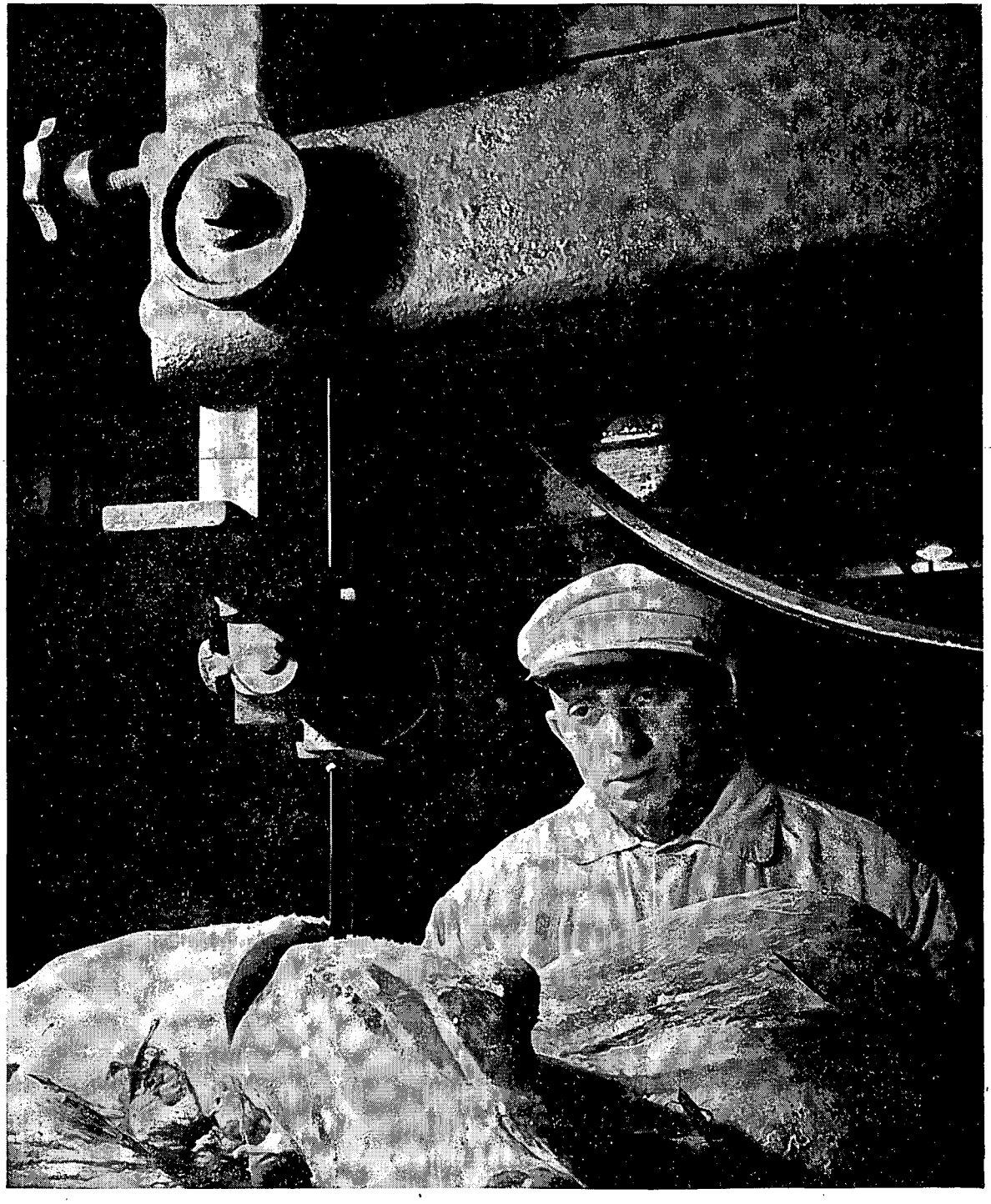

Once carried on in local butcher shops, modern transportation has made meat packing a vast factory industry using machines and mass production to turn live stock into steaks, chops and roasts

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Guaranteed Time in the Stock Yards

By HAROLD H. SWIFT

FROM Texas, Montana, Iowa, New Mexico, and a score of other states, come long trains of cars, loaded with live stock,—the raw material of the packing industry. They are moving toward Chicago, Kansas City, Omaha, Denver, Fort Worth and other packing centers. Cattle men, sheep raisers, farmers who have converted their corn into hogs, have decided to sell. Various reasons prompt them. Shipment at a particular time may be due to a radio broadcast of market prices; to some obligation that must be met or purchase made; it may be due to the fact that to hold the animals longer means loss—they are ready for market, winter approaches, there is a drouth or food shortage; or there may be numerous other reasons. At any rate, the action of the various live-stock producers is uncoordinated. The ranchman in Montana may have an entirely different motive for selling from that of the farmer in Iowa. The size and kind of their flocks and herds may differ. One may decide to ship for Monday's market and the other for Wednesday's. The four or five million live-stock farmers in the United States are individualistic so far as the disposition of their live stock is concerned. The larger packer does not know what to expect, but in order to encourage a constant cash market must take what comes, whether the quantity be large or small.

Add to this situation the danger of injury in shipment and of shrinkage in weight, the perishability of fresh meat, the necessity of maintaining a large force of skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labor, and the further need of an efficient buying and selling organization, and you have some idea of the complexities involved in modern meat packing.

Before the railroads tapped the sources of live stock production in this country, the packing industry was a comparatively small affair, largely local both in purchasing and distribution. It is true that large herds were driven over long trails to distant railroads for shipment to Kansas City and Chicago, but the receipt of thousands of animals in daily shipments, as is now the case, was unknown. The packing industry as we know it today did not exist; facilities for supplying public demand were very meager, and distribution was chiefly a problem of immediate environment.

But the development of transportation and the improvement of communication made possible the establishment of large packing centers. These were conveniently located near centers of live-stock production. Here the shipper could send his animals with minimum transportation charges, and from here the packer could distribute the processed material by refrigerator cars to branch houses and distant consuming centers. It was the refrigerator car which did most to open the markets of the East to the live-stock grower of the West.

Processing live stock into beef steaks, lamb chops, and pork roasts is even more complex than purchasing the raw material. Today meat is only one part of the packer's output. In producing it, he also provides raw materials for many other industries—hides for leather, wool for carpets and clothing, glands that are the basis of life-saving drugs, glue for furniture factories and hundreds of other industries, gelatin for the table and to make motion-picture films run more smoothly.

THE packer's problem also embraces the whole range of live-stock production and marketing. For a good many years, efforts have been made to work out a better system of regulating the inflow of live stock, but it is still far from satisfactory. During the war, the Food Administration zoned the country, and shipments were arranged so that they reached market from different sections on certain days. Some railroads have maintained regular shipping days to a certain extent and issue advance estimates of receipts. Live-stock growers' organizations keep in close touch with conditions and issue advice to shippers on market trends. The Government, through the Bureau of Agriculture Economics, gathers information from the packers and other sources on meat trade conditions, broadcasts it, and issues bulletins for the benefit of the public. Live-stock commission houses keep their shippers posted by bulletins and even by telephone and telegraph. But live stock is raised on nearly every farm in the great Central West and to control its flow to any appreciable extent when it is ready for market is too great a task for the agencies now at work. The packer may receive twenty-four hours' notice of shipments headed for a certain stock yards, but even so, it is only an estimate and there is no distinction made between the different kinds of live stock. Since a car of cattle would mean 20 animals, a car of hogs 75 to 125, and a car of lambs 250 to 300, it will be seen that it is virtually impossible to secure accurate advance information under present conditions. Whether the receipts are large or small, the packer furnishes a prompt cash market and by doing so, frequently puts himself in a difficult position. Cattle sometimes shrink fifty pounds a day, which at 10 cents a pound is $5 a head. Such shrinkage seriously affects the small margin of profit which, in the packing industry, in spite of economies that cut

"Once I worked two weeks for 60 cents a day," a stock-yard's employe said, speaking of old times. And his fellow-worker, telling of conditions today, added, "The 40-hour guarantee . . . has practically put a man on a salary." The complex factors with which the meat-packing industry has to wrestle in trying to steady production and employment, how the plan of guaranteed time was evolved, what it means in business and in human terms to management, to workers, to the community "back of the yards," is here told by Harold H. Swift of Swift and Company.

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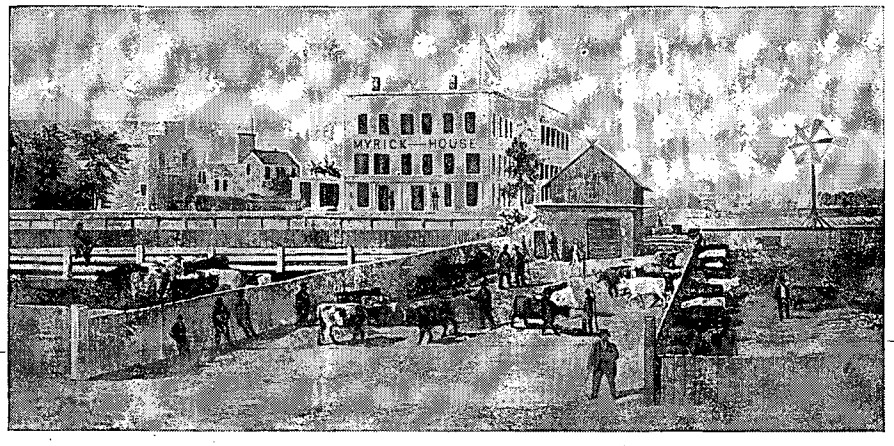
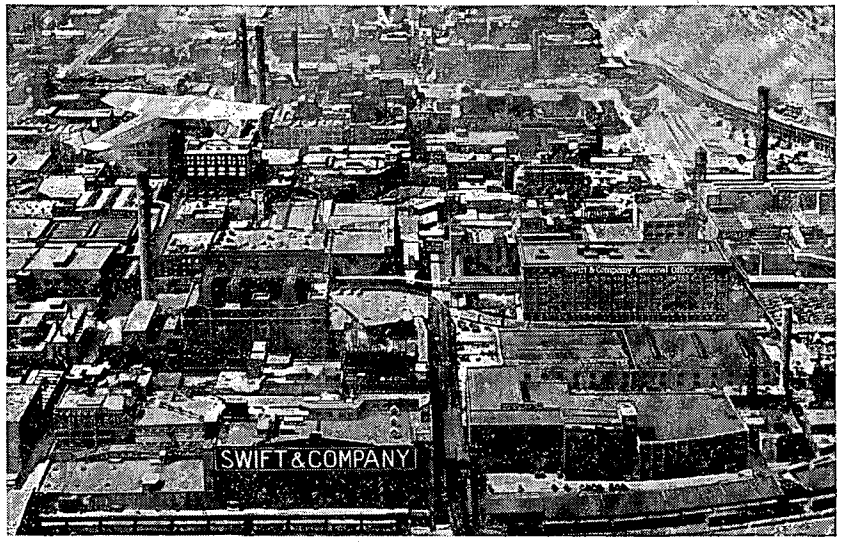
overhead charges, has recently averaged less than $1 a head.

This uncertainty as to the amount of live stock to be expected from day to day and week to week means uncertainty in the labor situation. To maintain a large force in idleness, when there is no work to do, is obviously an economic loss. If, on the other hand, an excess of work is suddenly thrust upon us and we do not have a sufficiently large working force to care for it promptly, that also is an economic loss because our product is perishable, shrinks very rapidly, and cannot be stored so as to equalize production. If a small force must work extra hours to care for it, we lose through payment of overtime. It is almost impossible





When the stock yards were out on the edge of the prairie—and an airplane view of a complex modern meat-packing plant

for the packing industry to have a uniform day, and to work on a rigid schedule. Left unregulated, this situation manifestly means hardship for the worker—broken time, fluctuating earnings, constant uncertainty.

Some twenty years ago, Swift & Company took measures to alleviate the demoralizing economic conditions of the wage earners in the packing industry. With other large packers, we have been able to establish an elastic schedule which now takes care of the situation within reasonably satisfactory limits.

The Company payrolls before 1912 give mute testimony to the irregularity of working hours and the undependability of the worker's pay. Take Christmas week for example, the most colorful season of the year, a time above all when the workman wants a dependable wage. The case of a cattle butcher employed at the Chicago plant is typical of the conditions existing before the present plan was developed. An examination of the payrolls for Christmas week in the years 1909, 1910, and 1911 shows that this man was paid for only nineteen, twenty-one and twenty hours respectively. Further, he had been working short and irregular hours for many weeks before the holidays and had had no opportunity to plan for anything beyond meeting the bare necessities. When a man's wife and children awoke on Christmas morning to a condition of that kind, could life to them mean anything but existence, constantly threatened by a feeling of insecurity and disappointment?

Or, take the case of an employe on our payrolls in the year 1909, who was called out early Monday morning but was sent home after six hours of work; on Tuesday he worked five hours; on Wednesday only two; Thursday, he was sent home at ten in the morning after three hours' work; on Friday he was not needed at all; and on Saturday worked only until noon—a total for the week of twenty-one hours.

Intermittent employment, days of enforced idleness, the uncertainty at seven o'clock in the morning whether work would last one hour, or four, or twelve, was dispiriting and demoralizing, especially when uppermost in the wage-earner's mind was the certainty that short and irregular hours, with consequent lower pay, is not an acceptable answer to the demands of landlord and grocer, and that the delivery of coal in zero weather is contingent upon ability to pay.

So Swift & Company, back in 1912, offered guaranteed time as a partial remedy to the situation. This guarantee does not mean a guaranteed job. Because of the nature of our business, there come slack periods of some duration when we do not require a maximum working force and lay-offs, so far as we can now see, are unavoidable. Guaranteed time does mean, however, that so long as a worker is on the payroll, he is guaranteed pay for a definite number of hours, whether he actually works full time or not. The guarantee is now in effect at twenty-seven of our packing plants. Throughout the organization, wage earners are paid on an hourly, not a piece-work basis, with an "incentive" plan which gives the worker extra pay for extra skill and efficiency.

In the beginning, we established a guarantee of forty hours a week. This later was increased to forty-five hours, but during the war was again reduced to forty hours by federal Judge Alschuler, acting as arbiter in packing-house labor matters, when he established a norm of forty-eight hours a week. The statement he issued at that time is illuminating,—"The existing 45-hour guarantee of Swift is entirely too close to a 48-hour week at the new basic day schedule to be wholly fair."

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Since Judge Alschuler's suggestion, we have continually striven for a 48-hour week, and have come very close to accomplishing it on an average. The average number of hours worked per week since the war by the five to six

thousand workers at the Chicago plant has been 48.9 hours, the lowest being 46.1 hours a week in the year 1919, and the highest 50.3 hours in 1923. The same general condition holds true for approximately twenty-five thousand employes in all our packing plants.

Sometimes the exigencies of the business require that an employe work more than ten hours in one day, or more than fifty-five hours in a week, and in that event it is our practice to pay him one and a half the regular rate for overtime. From 1919, when overtime payments began, to 1931, payments for overtime have ranged from $144,000 to $1,600,000, the average being $453,000 a year.

On the other hand, payments for unworked guaranteed time from 1912 to 1931 have run from an approximate minimum of $25,000 to a maximum of $400,000 a year, the average being $103,000.

Of course, it is the concern of business management to avoid both the extremes of overtime and of unworked guaranteed time, as a reduction in these payments accrues to the benefit of all concerned,—the live-stock producer, the workman, the company, and the consumer, but the workman in particular by giving him stable employment over longer periods of time.

Guaranteed time has helped to banish the feeling of insecurity and fear of uncertain pay. I have in mind the experience of three employes.

The first began work for Swift & Company in 1886, and is still employed. Not long ago, in talking with a member of our Industrial Relations staff about former conditions and the effect of guaranteed time, this man expressed himself as follows:

I had a family of seven small children and there were weeks when we made as low as seventeen hours. Of course, there were times in the busy season when we would have full weeks, continuing for a long time, but we never knew what to expect. It kept me worried to know how I was going to take care of my family, let alone build a home, for I never could see one week ahead. It was out of the question to buy property, although my wife and I always talked about it and looked forward to it. When we were put on guaranteed time it was a big load off my mind. Soon after, I bought a lot, and soon after that built the house, and we still live there and have brought up eleven children.

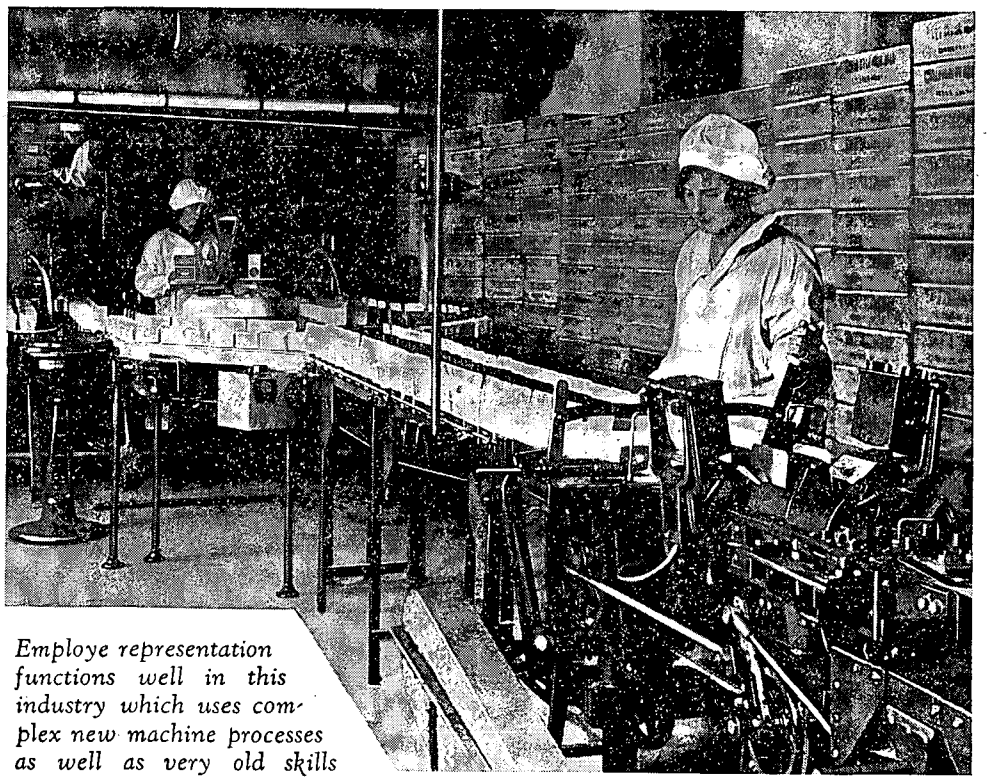
The second employe, who started work for Swift & Company in 1907, had the following to say:

The 40-hour guarantee has been a splendid thing for the men, because it has practically put a man on a salary. Before, one week we would get a pretty good check, but we wouldn't have any idea what it would be the next week. You couldn't plan ahead on your living or anything else. It wasn't safe to try to buy a home or make any investment that called for regular payments. You might run into a stretch where the pay for a number of weeks would be way down. I remember when the earnings ran as low as $8 a week. You just had to trust to luck and no use trying to make any plans. I hope the 40-hour guarantee will never be done away with.

A third employe, familiar with conditions in the early days, said:

We never knew when we came out in the morning how many hours we might get in. Some days the foreman would come around and clap his hands—"Eleven o'clock; go home, boys"—that meant 60 cents. Pretty tough! Some weeks the pay would be less than $5 for the week. Once, I worked two weeks at 60 cents a day.

Stabilized employment is a goal toward which we are



Employe representation functions well in this industry which uses complex new machine processes as well as very old skills

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continually striving, and guaranteed time has contributed to that end. It has called for cooperative effort all along the line. The live-stock buyer gives more thought to the problem because he is vitally interested in having his purchases transformed into edible products at the lowest possible production cost. The superintendent has contributed his share of effort because he is not only interested in low production costs but also knows that a satisfied force works better and more economically and that his life is pleasanter when dealing with satisfied rather than disgruntled people. The sales departments give more thought to the problem of steady work and try to adjust their demands for product so as to conform with reasonable production schedules and thus have a lower-cost product to sell.

WHEN the supply of live stock is small and it is estimated the organized working force cannot be given from forty-three to forty-eight hours' work a week for a period of several weeks, the gangs are diminished. A man is not guaranteed his job, but both for humane reasons and for purely business reasons, it is better and cheaper to keep him than to let him out one week and rehire him the next; he is not laid off unless there is likelihood of decreasing supplies of raw product over a several weeks' period. If, on the other hand, the live-stock prospects point toward heavy receipts and the probable working-time of the gang is estimated to be for several weeks from fifty-two to fifty-five hours or more, the size of the force is increased. When it is necessary to lay off employes during the week, they are paid for a minimum of six and two-thirds hours a day for the time they are on the payroll.

The procedure seems simple, but as a matter of fact very often estimates do not turn out to be correct and arrangements have to be modified on short notice. The live-stock buyer may have expected more or less stock than actually turns up at the market; a storm may upset train and truck schedules; an unusual price situation may develop which induces shippers to send more or less stock than is expected. Any number of contingencies, causing temporary uncertainty between buyer and superintendent, must be adjusted promptly because time is a vital factor in handling a perishable product.

By stabilizing employment and regulating hours, employes have been enabled to regulate their lives and provide with more assurance for the needs and comfort of their families. This has improved community morale and so yielded social dividends. When the worker is able to pay his bills and put aside regular, even though small, savings, he develops a measure of self-confidence and becomes an asset to the community. His well being is reflected in savings banks, better homes, and civic improvements.

As evidence of the influence of our effort to regularize employment, I offer the following statement from the president of an old and influential bank which is patronized extensively by packing-house workers and by business concerns in the district where a majority of the workers live:

> I feel that the plan whereby the wage earners are guaranteed forty hours a week has proved decidedly to their advantage. This observation is based on contacts and experience had with these people for nearly thirty years. Our bank has loaned in the aggregate a large amount of money to buy, build, and improve homes in the area where stock-yards' wage earners reside, and I can say without reservation that we have had very little difficulty with them through delinquencies.
>
> I have talked with the officers of a number of Building and Loan Associations operating in this neighborhood and learn that their experience has been similar to ours.
>
> When an employe is reasonably sure that his pay will be regular and constant, he will usually budget his affairs to meet his obligations.
>
> The fact that our bank, situated in the midst of the territory where these employes reside, is in amount of savings deposits the eighth largest bank in Chicago, would seem to emphasize the frugality and thriftiness of stock-yards workers.

Situated in the heart of the stock-yards district is the University of Chicago Settlement. For thirty-five years, social workers residing there have studied the needs of the neighborhood and have come to know intimately the life of the people. One of the Settlement workers, a woman who has lived there since the plan for guaranteed time first went into effect, makes this significant observation:

> The forty-hour guarantee has been a large factor in bringing about the change in the standard of living in the district. The guarantee is like an insurance. When I first came into the district, eighteen years ago, I was not well versed in packing house practices, but I soon learned of the irregularity in working hours. I can say the assurance of the people I have talked with, knowing that they were going to get at least a minimum amount of money each week, has raised their standards; they feel much more secure and certain of their homes. A great deal of fear has been taken out of their lives, which is always there when there is uncertainty concerning work. This and other changes, particularly the fact that about 60 per cent now get vacations, has developed a sense of liberty.

THE past twenty or thirty years have brought many changes in our industry and in the stock-yards community. When I was a boy, the packing industry was reputed to be made up of low-standard and low-paid workers, serving long hours or no hours, working in an unsatisfactory environment. "Back of the Yards" was suggestive of crude and unsanitary conditions. The district was bounded on the north by Bubbly Creek, on the west by the city garbage dumps, on the east by the Stock Yards, and on the south by open prairie. Only two streets in the whole district were paved. Board walks were used for sidewalks. Parks, libraries, bathing facilities, and playgrounds were unknown. Schools were altogether inadequate. The population was composed mostly of recently arrived immigrants, who had come principally from peasant villages and agricultural surroundings. They were thrown into an industrial community of thirty thousand to forty thousand people under entirely new working conditions, understanding no English and little of the laws and customs of this country. Americanization was an unknown term, and the Settlement idea was still in its incipiency. Very little consideration was given to the social and economic problems arising from migration. Many of these immigrants were transients, hoping only to earn enough to move to another locality or to return to some foreign land.

It was from this district that the packing industry drew most of its labor supply.

Our problem has been to improve the conditions under which our employes live and work, and to interpret America to them. This has involved not only the conservation of industrial resources and the promotion of economic progress, but also the formulation of broad and fundamental social policies. It has not been simply a matter of production, sales and profits, but an understanding of human relations and a provision for human needs. The individual employe coming under industrial supervision, has the right to fair

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treatment and sympathetic aid in his adjustments, and the place of industry in the community is not isolated but integral with the life of all the people.

During the intervening years, there has been steady progress throughout the district, not only in civic improvements, but also in higher standards of living. The population of the stock-yards neighborhood is still largely made up of foreign born and their descendants. Since 1900, more Poles and Lithuanians than any other nationality have settled here. A great many of these people have become naturalized and take an active interest in civic affairs. Our working force is still drawn largely from foreign groups, with the further addition of Negro labor which has migrated from the South in recent years. At the Chicago plant, for example, the working force represents twenty-six nationalities, and about 65 per cent are of foreign birth or parentage.

There are some who recall the time when long lines of men besieged the ten or twelve places at the plant where workers were hired. One of our former employes, a man seventy years of age, now retired on pension, who started to work for us in 1882, makes the following comment:

> Times were hard, and in those days there was no employment office. The men would gather in the street in front of the department where they worked before and wait for the foreman to come out. If he wanted a man, he would look the crowd over and nod to the one he wanted and that man was hired. That meant as many as ten or twelve places in one plant where men would be hired. I have seen from 175 to 200 standing at every house.

The labor turnover in those days was excessively high, but with the establishment of a central employment office, placed under the management of a trained person who is familiar with the needs of all departments, labor turnover has been reduced materially. At a number of our larger plants the month of minimum employment now varies less than 15 per cent from the month of maximum employment.

Other measures have been taken to lessen the workers' feeling of insecurity. Today there are more than sixteen hundred on our pension roll. The plan, which applies alike to office and plant employes, was inaugurated in 1916, and is maintained wholly at Company expense. Men who have served the Company continuously for twenty-five years are pensioned at the age of sixty-five; women, at the age of fifty-five. Provision is also made for employes who have become permanently incapacitated through no fault of their own, and whose services have been continuous for fifteen years. The number of employes with long service records is constantly increasing. It is a matter of pride to Swift & Company that in a total working force of about fifty thousand, there are now on the payrolls nearly six thou-

Moving tables carry cuts of meat from process to process. The man who trims hams must have speed, precision and judgment, and his job is a skilled one

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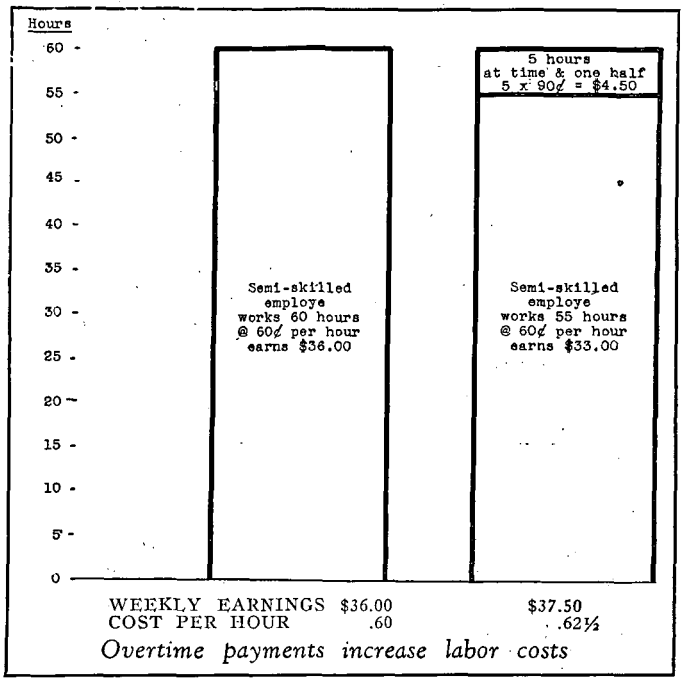
sand men and women who have been there fifteen years or longer.

The Company also provides free medical service and maintains an Employe Benefit Association, through which employes may obtain insurance against accident and incapacity, as well as group life insurance, at minimum cost.

Other considerations granted by Swift & Company tend to build up a satisfied working force. In addition to the customary vacations allowed to office and steady time workers, the hourly paid workers, both men and women, who have served the Company four and three years respectively, are given one week's vacation with pay, and after ten years' service are given two weeks. Last year, 54 per cent of the hourly paid men and 37 per cent of the hourly paid women in our packing plants had vacations, and 18 per cent of the packing house employes, excluding office workers, enjoyed two weeks' vacation.



Overtime payments increase labor costs

One very helpful feature in promoting a closer understanding and feeling of industrial unity is our plant newspaper in which department personals, articles of general information, and items of particular interest to the employe are published. Cash awards are given for helpful ideas. Free training schools, as a means of self-development, are maintained at many of our larger units; correspondence courses are also offered. Altogether more than five thousand employes are enrolled. To encourage participation in civic matters, we pay our employes when they are on jury service.

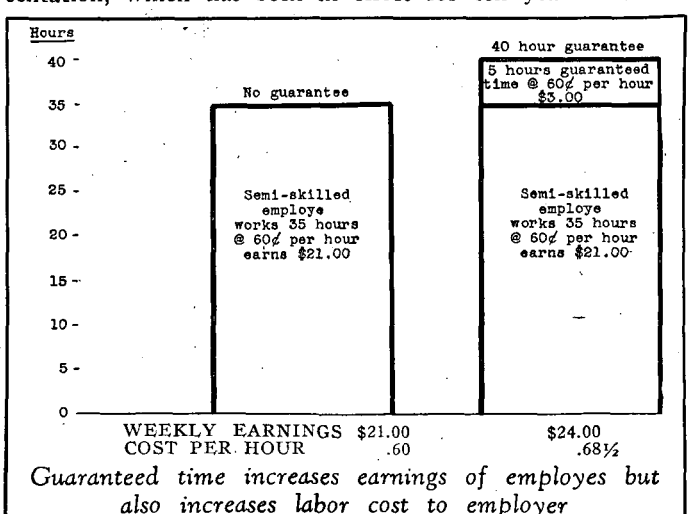
Saving is encouraged by the opportunity to purchase Swift & Company stock on the partial-payment plan. This has been in effect for many years with the result that out of a total of forty-seven thousand shareholders thirteen thousand are employes, who own 12 per cent of the capital stock of $150,000,000.

The Company has, too, a plan for employes' representation, which has been in effect for ten years. Under this, an equal number of employe and management representatives discuss and settle all matters affecting wages, hours of labor, and conditions of employment. It has been successful in creating a closer understanding and better cooperation throughout the organization.

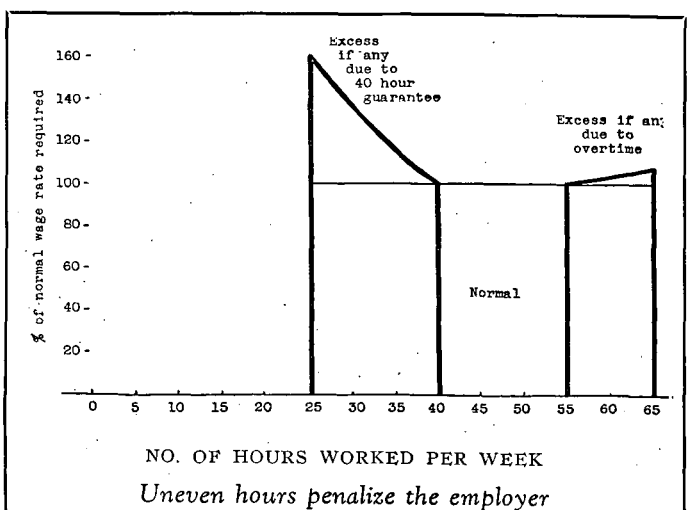
While conditions for the past twenty or thirty years have shown a marked improvement, our problems are by no mean solved, either from the labor or the management point of view. Our plant assemblies are constantly dealing with changes in working conditions. Layoffs still occur—and will continue so long as we have slack seasons and no definite knowledge of live-stock receipts and have no way to carry over our perishable product from seasons of plenty to seasons of scarcity to equalize production. Our human relations program is still in process of evolution. Guaranteed time and the other efforts I have mentioned do not afford a panacea for irregular work and labor turnover, but are steps which our experience has proved to be in the right direction.

The goal toward which the Company has been aiming in its relations with workers may be summed up as follows: We have been trying to recognize the rights of human beings in our employ; to make employment more secure; to pay fair wages and make this possible by avoiding waste and by improving the whole business machine; to lead men, not to drive them; to provide for self-expression on the part of the workers; to keep the way wide open for their education and advancement, and maintain close cooperation and understanding between them and ourselves.

The effort thus far expended in accomplishing these aims has been justified many times over by the results both to employer and employe—for greater efficiency, initiative, interest, and well being among our working force mean a stronger industrial organization, increased individual happiness, and a better community life.



Guaranteed time increases earnings of employes but also increases labor cost to employer



Uneven hours penalize the employer

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Medicine: The Tortoise—Why Pick on It?

By DONALD B. ARMSTRONG, M.D.

The turtle lives twixt plated decks,
  Which practically conceal its sex.
I think it clever of the turtle,
  In such a fix, to be so fertile.—OGDEN NASH.

THERE are various things that the practice of medicine might be called. In fact, calling organized medicine names and mostly bad names, has become of late the king of indoor sports, as any one knows who has followed during the last few years almost any of the leading lay or professional periodicals. As an art, or rather as as organism, medicine lives on the social structure. Is it parasitic? Perhaps technically so, but if it is, it represents a rare form of essential, beneficent parasitism. Certainly between the social structure and organized medicine there is a high degree of mutual interdependence—a sort of symbiotic relationship.

But parasite or not, organized medicine, like every organism vitally related to its parent structure and to the changing environment in which it lives, must depend for its own usefulness, its own vitality, and in fact its very survival, upon the success with which it makes certain essential adaptations. Is organized medicine, like the hard-shelled pterodactyl in biological evolution, destined, through rigidity and inadaptability, to extinction? If it were much more flexible, would its survival prospects and its serviceability be enhanced? Should it perhaps even aspire to the chameleon-like flexibility, the ever-changing face though ever-persistent body, of charlatanism?

Of course, all mature organizations lose elasticity and become hard-shelled. Stiffness and old age develop together. But if we were to select afresh totem animals to represent our various types of professional organizations in the zoo of human relationships, could any group or movement with so much justice as medicine claim the tortoise for its symbol—the turtle so renowned in song and fable? Surely medicine has lived "twixt plated decks." Surely under these circumstances (or indeed aside from these circumstances) its fertility in contributions to science and to human welfare has been indeed "clever," not to say astounding. Perhaps it may even be that its actual survival may have depended upon its great, passive, defensive mechanism. Certainly its totem animal in one form or another of reptilian life, has "carried on" through the ages, even though certain of its ancestral forms have disappeared. Of course, we cannot forget that the mesozoic pterodactyl was not only a reptile, but one that had even learned to fly!

So much for survival. The parallel elements of utility and serviceability should perhaps not be stressed in the analogy, for "life for life's sake" has probably always been a sufficient justification for existence to the turtle, although as a matter of fact he has combined with his remarkable defensiveness a little more utility, judged by human standards, than any of his reptilian relatives.

Certainly among the broadsides against medicine, we frequently hear such phrases as "inflexible cult," "silly antiquated ethics," "lethargy and resistance to change," "hard-boiled leadership," "hardshelled organization," and the like. The doctor individually and in his organization is accused of insensitiveness to new demands and lack of awareness to new opportunities. He is said to be slow to seize and use relatively new approaches to clinical and preclinical medicine, such as for instance, the periodic health examination. He is said to be blind to the whole field of the private practice of preventive medicine. He is reported to be in opposition to the development of certain preventive medical and public-health movements, and he is accused of leaving the initiative for the solution of the economic ills of medical practice to lay leadership.

No doubt some, and perhaps all, of these criticisms are true in part at least. Certainly they are all directed at turtle-like characteristics. But can a turtle shed its shell? Can it acquire joints and dance to the tune of modern socialization? If not, then why, after all, should everyone be "picking on" it? If the medical turtle *could* make these adaptations, should it? How much historical justification it there for its tortoisian attitude? Are there any inherent professional assets, or outside social contributions accreditable to its traditional position? "In such a fix" what has been the medical turtle's fertility, measured in social service and in scientific accomplishment?

Suppose It Were a Jellyfish

THE writer is a medical man and for two or three decades has been associated with doctors and medical organizations, as well as with official or voluntary associations working in the medical or preventive medical fields. Having given some observation and thought to the problem, he is very positively of the belief that many, if not most of the accomplishments of medicine are by-products of a characteristic adhesion to tradition, and a turtle-like defense against attack, a resistance against a too ready adaptation to the pressure of outside forces or internal radical or reactionary demands. These factors seem to be in part responsible for the generally high standard of medical service in the past and for the fact that the medical profession, despite its limitations, has worshipped, if not always practiced, a standard of social utility unique when measured against any other profession. In other words, the defects of medical organization are great, but the assets of those defects when measured in the social scale outweigh the defects themselves. Certainly some things have been lost, perhaps particularly time. Yet many things have been gained, or preserved or acquired eventually on a basis of permanency not to have been anticipated if the medical profession had had for its totem the jellyfish rather than a hard-shelled representative of the animal kingdom.

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We can illustrate this point of view by very few examples only, from the host that would arise in the mind of any student of the problem. Take first the attacks upon organized medicine, from within but mainly from without, of the various cults, the varieties of quackery and charlatanism, and the irregular and unstandardized phases of the so-called healing art. One such tidal wave was homeopathy which welled up from the unscientific waters of the social structure, and which the turtle for the most part appeared to ignore. At first he pulled in his head and resisted invasion. He dug into the mud and was not swept along upon a tide of popular interest and enthusiasm. Yet, through its ostrich-like and sort of Christian-Science denial of the existence of homeopathy, this new approach to the art of medicine was forced through an arduous fire of verification, resulting in scraping of much of its theoretical absurdity, and in gradually elevated standards of classroom instruction, school equipment and professional clinical experience.

Then what happened? The genuine contribution of homeopathy, the values which it presented for acceptance in general medical practice, with the decreased emphasis which it advantageously brought about on drug therapy, were all gradually, unconsciously and more or less painlessly absorbed into the general practice of medicine, with a concomitant decrease in homeopaths as such, and in the distinctive educational factories for their production.

The basic science, with all its limitations and blindness, stood its ground on a secure foundation of experience. It was not swept off its feet; largely it ignored or condemned the new rival for popular affection. It was strong enough to hold its position until the rival was forced to make a more presentable appearance. And then the older medicine came out of the contest stronger than ever, having not only held its position but having absorbed new blood from the movement so strenuously opposed—a movement made fit for absorption by this very opposition.

And now comes along osteopathy, and perhaps even chiropractic with its disputed contributions to scientific therapy. Other new phases of the alleged healing art are springing up, many of them seemingly with little or no scientific basis for existence. Of course, the individual doctor appears impervious to their appeals. His armor plates present no fissures for the infiltration of medical heresy.

> The doctor's armor has no cracks—
> But thus you tell him from the quacks.

Yet eventually the values in these new movements, in so far as they exist, will be admitted. Note what is happening to osteopathy today. Gradually in various states the standards are being raised for the preliminary training and for the professional education of osteopaths. In a few places, both in hours, in subject matter, and perhaps even in equipment, they tend to approach at least the minimum standards of orthodox medicine. At the same time, through state legislation, the licensure priviliges of osteopaths are being broadened so that now, in some states, the osteopath may not only practice osteopathy but may legally practice minor surgery, major surgery, obstetrics, drug therapy, etc. In one state at least one group of osteopaths is said to be on an absolutely identical par with doctors of medicine. All of this development is probably the result of a number of influences, but conspicuous among these forces is the resistance of medicine to invasion or to dilution or to contamination or to neutralization by an element not hitherto worthy of incorporation. But, where at least a minimum medical standard is reached, osteopathy will be absorbed as have certain of its predecessors—the other healing-art movements originating outside the medical profession. Critics say that this absorption process is too slow. It might be more rapid if there were less resistance, but it is very probable th-t a more rapid absorption would mean less purification, would limit the force that tends to bring the training to a higher plane, would involve the absorption of more of the theoretical absurdities inherent in the new movement, and would not so well preserve the basic values of orthodox medicine against a vitiating process of dilution.

Other waves, somewhat different in character, have arisen from disturbances in the social fabric and have washed against the shores of medicine. Out of a neurotic and apparently paranoid personality came Christian Science—full of astounding theories about malicious animal magnetism and other absurdities—yet with a technique that is working advantageously for thousands and thousands of physically or mentally ill people. About the same time came out of Freud and his followers, the psychoanalytic movement. Of course, the medical profession was very resistant and blind to each. It is said that had there been more of a welcome to the latter scientific attack, we might have heard less of the former approach. This is possibly so, yet medicine's resistance to every even rational attempt at the use of the mind to influence the ills of man, has possibly forced a searching justification of the psychoanalytic procedure which in the end can only be to the advantage of psychoanalysis, of medicine and of the people. Certainly this contribution is beginning only now to find its place in medicine, and its progress, inevitably slow, must be made against a typically hard-shelled and moss-backed attitude on the part of the rank and file of doctors of medicine generally.

Must the Turtle Stretch a Leg?

IF medicine offered less resistance to new movements, it could only be, considering "the nature of the beast," because it lacked foundation or had thrown away its anchors (certain of which might be more accurately described as drags, and are undoubtedly in part composed of the very human elements of stupidity and prejudice). Without these foundations, subject to all the winds that blow, medicine would neither be a rock nor would it be founded on a rock, but rather a drifting shallow boat swept hither and thither on the angry sea of quack absurdities and as yet unproven therapeutic projects.

Presumably there is no doubt that an excess of such resistance to change, with a lack of adaptability, is responsible not only for many of the extinct organisms in biological evolution, but also for many of the defunct organizations in social evolution. Even in these cases it seems probable that these retarding influences may have served a useful preservative purpose for a time. Finally, some catastrophic change in environment became too much for the organism, producing its entire elimination or (in the case of human organization) a radical and unrecognizable transformation.

There are, without doubt, new influences at work today that would thus radically change medical practice. Indeed the medical profession is certainly now facing many new attacks, perhaps even more serious than those already referred to, from within as well as without. Can it as usual "get by," maintain its nucleus of integrity and ultimately serve a constructive purpose by "sitting tight," or is the time

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about to come when the turtle for once must "stretch a leg" and acually enter the race against the disintegrating influences of time and circumstance? We have seen what sacrifices and what accomplishments have historically characterized its stolidity. What is the current and future application of this experience?

Over and above all that has gone before, though with roots back into the past, there are in the main at this moment two major attacks being made upon medicine as it has operated up to this time. One of these is certainly a genuine evil, whereas the other, more or less looked upon as a threat against its integrity by the medical profession, if not a menace to its ultimate existence, is to say the least a profoundly disturbing element in its future course. We refer to the commercialization of current medicine on the one hand, and to the threat of socialization on the other. The latter in this country is still a vague factor and variously envisioned in the minds of medical men. The former, however, is an unfortunate reality, characterized by doubtful publicity and advertising ventures, by all the evils of the split-fee system, by an excessive and unregulated if not sometimes fraudulent specialization, and apparently by other widely alleged evils, such as the competitive sale of hospital appointments, the exploitation of patients in private commercial hospitals, and so on.

Each of these new and undesirable developments might be discussed at some length, but here we may very briefly touch upon only one of them by way of illustration, and that one is perhaps relatively a lesser evil, namely, the advertising "menace." Certainly the movements to induce the medical profession to take up individual medical advertising, and the influences that would exploit professional medical opinion for dubious or in fact for even valid commercial purposes, if permitted to grow uninhibited, would destroy the very ethical basis upon which private medical practice has been built, a practice that is or should be a private professional service and not a commodity. An equally important bulwark protecting the very basis of medicine is the defense which organized medicine offers against the popular semi-medical advertising of fraudulant, misleading or mislabeled commercial products. One hears complaints of the way in which the "medical reactionaries" and the "czars" of the American Medical Association in Chicago stand in the way of such advertising exploitation. Naturally these complaints come largely from second- and third-rate advertising men. They point out with some logic that the medical crowd has a biased and moss-backed attitude. An ingenuous if not unscrupulous advertising man said in the presence of the writer not long ago, after a mutual agreement as to the "dogmatic unprogressiveness" of the "medical dictators," that he had a client who had at least twenty-five perfectly good "cures" for disease to put on the market, but these benefits for humanity were withheld from the public because of the antagonism of the "medical crowd in Chicago"! The only comment that seemed appropriate was "Thank God for the hard-shelled and resistant 'medical octopus'."

Were there space one might also enlarge upon another unfortunate development in advertising which organized medicine is now resisting, namely, the use of a prominent name or face as an endorsement of a specific trade product. Lay faces are apparently for sale for all kinds of purposes, but this form of medical endorsement, too nearly suggestive of the ear-marks of quackery, is still fortunately being resisted by organized medicine as bad ethics, bad judgment, bad taste and bad medicine, subject as it is to all kinds of perverted use and misleading exploitations. When can the doctor start to advertise? Perhaps when the quack and the cultist stop doing so, but not before.

Most assuredly, these factors, and perhaps especially certain of those which we have only mentioned, even more than the advertising tendency discussed more fully, threaten seriously to undermine the ethics of private medical practice. They are relatively new and possibly malignant growths on the body of the medical profession itself. How these evils may be mitigated, how the more serious elements in the picture may be controlled if not eliminated, how medicine is to handle these attacks so that they do not destroy its very character and seriously affect its ability for service, are internal problems for medicine itself to solve. Certainly an awareness of them and their import is an initial necessity.

Is the Turtle Stuck in the Mud?

FROM the other angle, from the inside of the profession, but mainly from the outside, the intimations of the socialization hazard or need (depending on the point of view) are embodied principally in criticisms directed at the inadequacies and fallacies of the present economic status of medical service. The public is told that medical service costs too much, that medical fees are too high, that the average middle-class person cannot afford adequate medical care, that really adequate medical or surgical care is scarcely available for any one because of the chaotic organization of medicine. In particular, people are being told that other countries have with more or less success attempted to solve this problem by purchasing medical care collectively, that only through a cooperative device can there be accomplished a really social utilization of the resources of medicine. Lay groups are organizing in one way or another to purchase medical service collectively. Numerous varieties of pseudo-insurance schemes, both voluntary and compulsory, are cited or proposed from the lay angle as media for the solution of the question. In some sections of this country and of Canada, medical leadership is also showing signs of awakening to this phase of the problem. Considerably behind the parade as usual, medical groups are showing some slight indication of the need for a parallel organization development on the part of medicine in order to meet these collective demands for service.

Whatever may be the next great American effort at the provision of adequate medical care and at the equitable and economic distribution of its costs, it seems fairly probable that more organization of some kind for the collective administration of service in medicine is inevitable, and that this organization will either gradually be developed by an increasingly socially conscious medical profession, alert enough to face the situation and to seize the initiative, or will be carried out for the medical profession, perhaps beyond its control, by lay or state forces.

Can the medical turtle come sufficiently out of the mud of tradition to analyze its own relationships and resources, and to take the leadership which truly belongs to it, in effecting a general solution of the problem? On the other hand, there are a great many assets in the present private medical practice procedure that should, if possible, be preserved. Is their preservation compatible with the greater social use of medical resources? If circumstances, economic and otherwise, force the development of medical organization in the direction of a collective procedure, and this seems in the main not only logical and (*Continued on page* 176)

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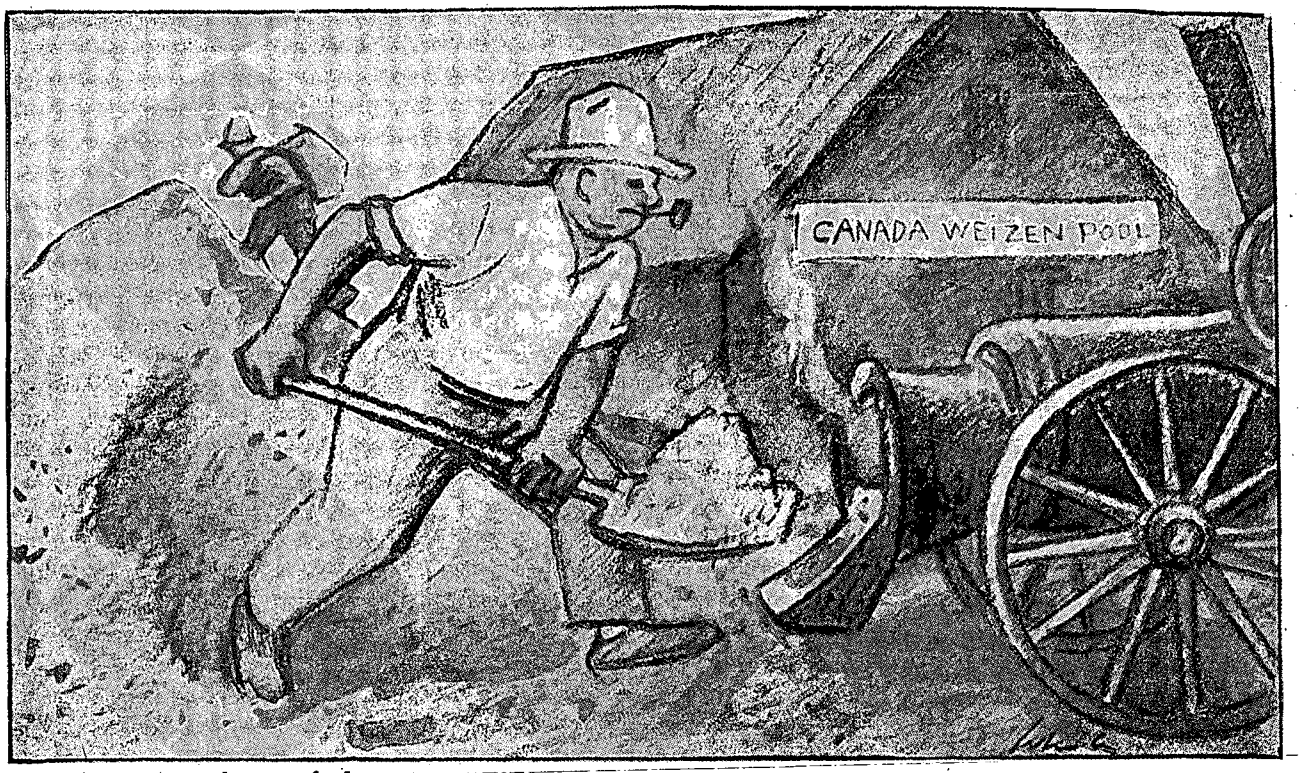
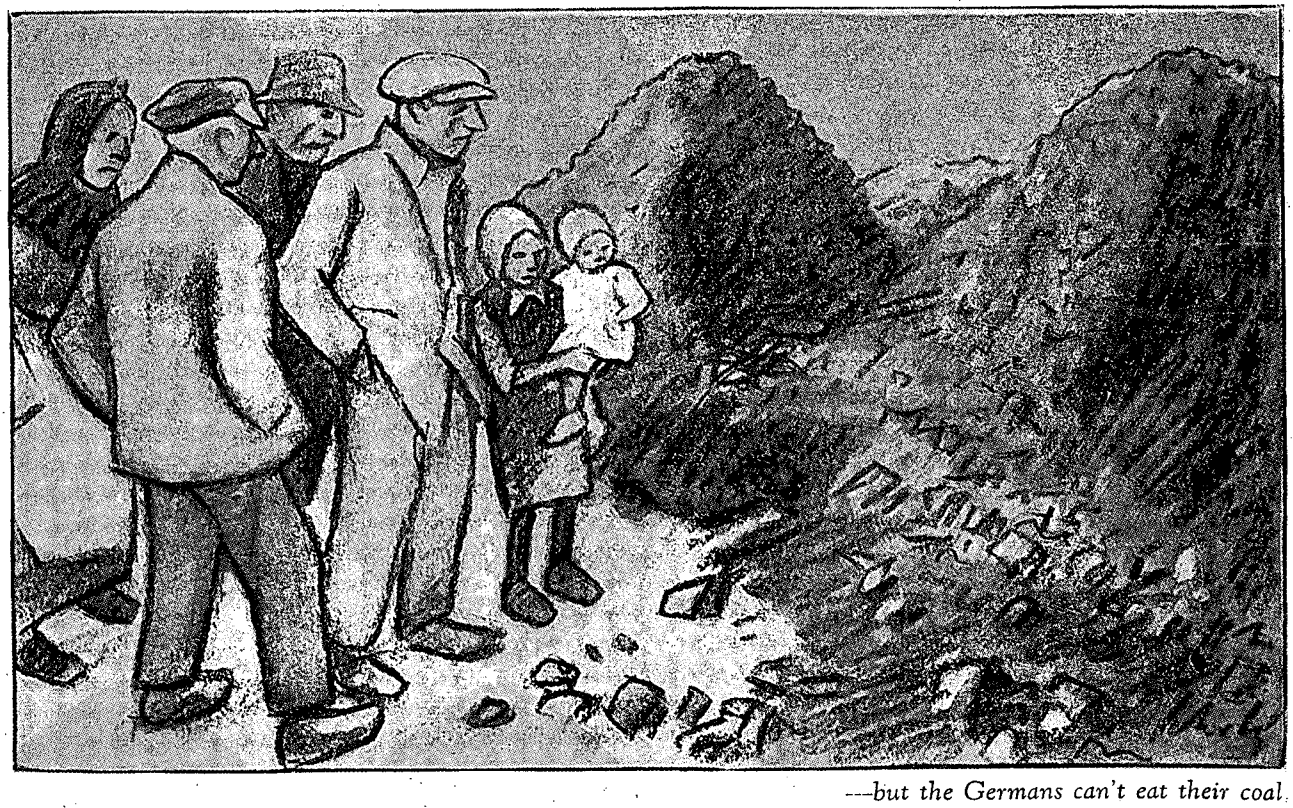


Canada can use wheat as fuel



---but the Germans can't eat their coal

IN A WORLD OF RESOURCES

A most striking booklet of cartoons in color (Reparationsfibel. Broschek & Co., Hamburg) has recently come from Germany, calling the world's attention to the crisis in German affairs under the peace treaties, and pointing out: "Though Germany has had to suffer most, it is growing more and more evident that not only the European countries but the whole world form one great community in adversity. No important member . . . can be sick for any length of time without endangering the whole." The artists are well known contributors to Simplicissimus.

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Planning and the World Paradox

By MARY VAN KLEECK

THAT conferences, official and unofficial, held in the last ten years of increasing economic stress, statesmen and leaders of business have had their say. Sometimes they have spoken wisely, but the application of their wisdom has somehow failed, as is evidenced by unemployment, measurable in millions. Here at Amsterdam were gathered unofficial spokesmen who tried to bring fresh thought and experience from management in industry, from business, agriculture, finance and labor, and from the economic and social sciences. They came as individuals and not as representatives of groups or countries, but they reflected the views of many other individuals in twenty-six different countries. The central significance of the gathering lay in its inclusion of representatives of differing economic systems. Economists and experts engaged in the administration of economic planning in the U. S. S. R. participated, proponents of state intervention and action, of evolutionary socially progressive planning. And there were those who held that in laissez-faire and the existing capitalism lay nascent capacities for revival.

Brevity and generalization are always hazardous in economic discussion, but the attempt will be made to trace the trend of thinking at the Congress, assuming that the materials, which produced it, will tell their own story in the volume of the proceedings and in the plans for a nucleus of planning research and action which grew out of the Congress.

Millions of men and women out of work in a world of plentiful resources, with misery as a consequence on every hand—this was the picture of human life with which the Congress opened its discussions. The reports covered Australia, Canada, China, France, Germany, Great Britain, United States, U. S. S. R.—chosen partly because they are representative of different stages of economic development and partly because information was available in them. Separately they gave consideration to the circumstances of the fluctuations in employment which was their primary subject. Dr. Max Lazard, France, summarized them as a symptom—the most human of all symptoms in its social effect—of the lack of equilibrium or balance in our economic life. But it was not possible to ascribe this lack of equilibrium to any single cause. The circumstances accompanping it are a complex of factors affecting the labor market, the market for commodities and the financial market. Aside from the familiar concurrence of economic trends known as the business cycle, we have the abnormal conditions created by the World War and the national policies which have characterized the succeeding period. The extraordinarily rapid change in the relative positions of the money markets of the world, the effect of war debts and reparations upon international trade, and the effect of high tariffs in restricting markets, are all special circumstances, different both in degree and in kind from past periods of depression. The Soviet delegates especially stressed the importance of war debts, reparations, the partial exclusion of the U. S. S. R. from world commerce; but held that the present situation is a manifestation of the general crisis in the capitalist system.

IT is noteworthy perhaps that from different points of view several nations may each be regarded in turn as the center of the present trouble, so that the special internal and external problems of Germany, of the United States, of Central Europe, of Great Britain, of Australia and of the Orient, make up together an extremely complex set of relationships, calling into play national psychology and political action when the great need is for an economic approach to an economic problem. Moreover, political insecurity within and without the several nations and the danger of war tend to make national self-sufficiency the economic objective held by each, at the very moment when the international factors in an economic crisis have become more pronounced than at any previous period in the history of modern industry.

That all this complex of political and economic relationships be for the moment ignored and that the world be viewed as a whole, was suggested to the Congress in a luminous report on the increase of the world's productive capacity by Dr. Otto Neurath of the Vienna Museum. For the ordinary balance sheets of commerce, he substituted "calculations in kind." The present distress of the masses, viewed thus, was seen to flow from bad organization. In a functional economy the wastes involved in the failure to utilize the actual productive capacity of modern industry, could be overcome. The possibility of such a func-

The Amsterdam Meeting

For two years the International Industrial Relations Association had been laying the ground-work for a World Social Economic Congress which would dramatize the possibilities of planning as a way out for industrial civilization. With a winter of still more desperate unemployment in prospect in the North Temperate Zone, with a moratorium on war debts and reparations, with Germany in sore straits, an English cabinet upheaval, and the American president calling a national commission into being, the Amsterdam meeting got its message across at a juncture when it scored in men's minds. For the first time, Soviet economists and experts sat in with those of the West in a dicussion of their five-year plan. As vice-president of the Congress, Miss van Kleeck interprets its significance.

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tional economy was in some measure demonstrated in the management of production during the War. An effective organization of peace-time economic life, however, would require a world view and world planning, based in turn upon regional organization. Its objective would be the utilization of the world's economic resources to raise the standards of living. Given world statistics of resources, production capacities and present and potential standards as a basis, the economic problems involved in such planning would not be so difficult as at first appears.

Here rested the statistical economists, posing the question whether any such world plan could actually be put into effect, or whether the solution of the paradox of unemployment and progress must continue to be sought in the midst of national insecurity, fears of wars, and the resulting political policies, which have little relation to mankind's capacity to meet its wants.

WHAT then is the outlook for economic planning as the way out of the world's distress? Planning has been tried and tested in scientific management. Its evolution was traced by Dr. H. S. Person of the Taylor Society. Its application in practice has been largely limited to single establishments under unified control, though it has had some application in a limited way in industries in which establishments are united through some form of joint agreement. The corner-stone of scientific management has been said to be a change in mental attitude, whereby decisions are based upon facts. The mechanisms making possible this use of facts as a guide for practice, have been developed technically within industry, and they are summed up in four steps, namely *research,* the setting up of *standards, control* to insure the adoption of the standards, and *cooperation* which recognizes that all practice involves human behavior and human relations. Any consideration of the wider application of scientific management beyond a single establishment or organized company brings to the front at once the problem of control. By what authority can competing or independent units of production be controlled? Scientific management has declared that true control comes from knowledge and not from authority, and therefore in theory once the facts be understood there need be no external authority to ensure that the practice, determined by the facts, will prevail cooperatively.

It may, however, be loading too heavy a burden upon scientific management to expect it to determine this matter of control when it comes to issues of social policy, which lie outside the field of methods and technique. Social economic planning requires a technique and only in the scientific management movement has a systematic technique been worked out and tested in experience. Regarded as a method it has in a sense nothing to do with the type of social organization in which it is utilized; but the technical experience, arising out of it, is at hand to be utilized in different economic systems.

It was in exploring the problem of planned economy from this angle that the Congress came to grips with the central subject of its discussion. The wording of the Congress theme had coupled the word "social" with "economic," thus definitely linking a social objective with economic planning. Planning throughout the Congress was used in varying meanings, due partly to the necessities of translations, but also to varying concepts. A new idea cannot, however, wisely be confined to one definition. In general, planning involves foresight, and the development in advance of a procedure for utilizing means to a given end. It was pointed out that a realistic approach to the problems of a planned economy would look at the world as it is with its natural resources, its technological development, its population, and also its political divisions, its varying national points of view and psychologies and, above all, the attitudes which have been influenced by historic events and which tend to perpetuate themselves after the causes, which shaped them, are passed. Nevertheless planning, though its difficulties under such complex social and political conditions are great, is a rational procedure, which the present day faith in science may compel society to attempt, bringing to its aid the technique of scientific management and adopting as its objective such social ends as the spirit of the times requires. The philosophic basis for such faith in the organic possibilities of social progressive planning was set forth in a remarkable paper by Dr. Lewis L. Lorwin of the Institute of Economics, Washington.

The sceptics, however, were not without representation at Amsterdam. They suggested that economic crises are an

Social Economic Planning

The necessity for the planned adjustment of Productive Capacity and Standards of Living.

[As developed by the five main divisions of the Conference program.]

I. *The Present Paradox—Unemployment in the Midst of Economic Progress,* with discussion based upon analysis of fluctuations in employment and unemployment by economists for various countries during the period from 1910-30, together with a presentation of statistics of recent growth in the world's productive capacity and its relation to increase in population.

II. *Principles and Practicability of Economic Planning,* including a careful presentation of the scientific management movement in the United States and in Europe, and the consideration of the possibility of a wider application of its technique and its principles; the problem of a planned economy in its economic and social aspects and its potential uses in countries at different stages of industrial development; and actual experience in national economic planning, agricultural and industrial, as revealed in the conception and the administration of planning in the U.S.S.R. The carefully documented reports of scientific management in the United States and Europe and of planning in the Soviet Union were printed in advance as a basis of discussion

III. *The Necessity and Means for International Economic Planning,* first in the branches of economic life, industry and production, distribution and finance, and secondly the instruments of governmental cooperation in international economic adjustments as illustrated in the Economic Service of the League of Nations and in international economic treaties.

IV. *Standards of Living,* as influenced by the relationship of productive capacity and buying power; specifically the influence and practicability of international agreement on labor standards as demonstrated in the experience of the International Labor Organization; and the economic policy of the international labor movement as it relates to standards of living.

V. *The Necessity for World Social Economic Planning.*

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inevitable part of the economic progress of mankind, and that a planned economy would tend to prevent the progress, which is inevitably accompanied by instability in the transition from one stage to another. It was held, for example, that our difficulties arise not from the absence of planning, but from interference with the price mechanism and restriction of production by cartels, monopolies, tariffs, and so on. Laissez-faire, in the sense of leaving the price mechanism free, has not yet been tried on a world scale. Yet these criticisms were coupled with statements that the Congress would be worth while if it made its members feel that the world is a unit. On the other hand there were those who held that to talk of a world plan is much in advance of practical possibilities, since planning must begin in a much smaller area, and world planning must be preceded by international agreement. From still another side, the Soviet delegates, while convinced of the historical necessity and advantages of planned national economy, insisted that social economic planning is possible only in a society with socialized means of production and distribution. Anarchy of production and under-consumption are to their minds inherent in all proposed forms of "organized capitalism"—which they regard as a contradiction in terms.

Underlying the discussion was the insistence that the consideration of economic planning today is not Utopian, but an outgrowth of developments in industry. The world is moving from one technological basis to another, from steam to electricity. The new driving power has consequences for the whole system of production and distribution far outstretching anything we have yet experienced. Economic and political organizations must now meet the test of their capacity to synchronize production and consumption on this new technological basis.

Finally social economic planning was conceived as bringing together the technical and the social, the practical and the ideal. The ideal and the social are involved in the definition of accepted ends; the technical and the practical create the limiting conditions, within which planning must be administered.

BEGINNINGS in national economic planning could be offered from Great Britain, Germany, France, China, but only in the U. S. S. R. is there now a basis of experience in nation-wide and industry-wide planning.

The report submitted to the Congress by its members from the Soviet Union was in four parts: (1) the premises, nature and forms of social economic planning, (2) the plan in action, (3) planning and development of agriculture in the U. S. S. R., (4) labor in the planned economy of the U. S. S. R. Simultaneously data on the economic progress of the Soviet Union and on the fulfilment of the Five-year Plan, were presented. Shortage of industrial labor—the reverse of unemployment—was stressed as its characteristic.

This was the first occasion when the plans and results of the new economic system in the Soviet Union have been laid before an international gathering. The result was to clear away some of the misunderstandings which have prevailed through lack of opportunity for just such an objective exchange of information between economists and practical industrialists and labor.

In the first place planning in the Soviet Union is not limited to the immediate industrialization of the economy of the U. S. S. R., but has a threefold general aim; (1) industrialization, (2) socialization of the whole process of economic activity, and (3) the improvement of the conditions of the working masses, who are also the collective masters of the national economy. Planning production with this threefold end in view necessitates preparation also for the broadening of consumption.

Planning in the Soviet Union was envisaged against a long process, characterized by struggle, first of the working class against the capitalist class and then the struggle to establish a plan, to develop it and to fulfill it. The plan in the Russian phraseology was not "taken from the ceiling." Among its features as brought out by the Russian spokesmen, is its "business basis," that is to say it uses the technique already made familiar in scientific management; it has a budget which involves a business calculation in each factory and even in each workplace, and it has a scheme for its administration, based upon the two divisions, (1) by locality or geographical region, (2) by function in terms of the different spheres of economy. Involved in this is a single financial plan, including industrial budgeting, credit operations and the state budget. By the operation of the single financial plan, redistribution of national and individual income is attempted with the ultimate aim of attaining a so-called balance of the distribution of national income. The plan must take account of imports and exports, but exports in Soviet planning are limited to the needs of paying for necessary imports, which is exactly the opposite of the idea of this phase of the Soviet economy prevailing in other countries.

AT the start, workers' participation was through the general concept that they collectively are masters of the Soviet economy, but a more specific mechanism has been developed in so-called counterplanning, introduced in 1930. Whereas earlier planning was entirely in the hands of planning commissions, there is now the procedure of having plans discussed in the workshops by conferences of the workmen. Their suggestions are formulated and carried back up the line to the planning commissions, which consider modifications and finally develop a coordinated plan.

The answer of the Soviet Union to the problem of control in industry-wide and state-wide planning, lies in collective ownership. As applied to the power industry, for example, this control runs to the whole area of ultimate uses of electricity. The Russian delegates turned the tables on some of their critics by contending that in the process of exchanging ideas and experience they have somewhat the advantage of the representatives of capitalist countries since they understand from past experience the working of capitalism, whereas those who live in capitalist countries have had little opportunity for first-hand knowledge of communism. The statement of the representatives of the Soviet Union in accepting the invitation to the Congress and again in this discussion, was that "peaceful co-existence of the two systems is not only possible but can be helped by a better understanding of the new system; the danger of war can be decreased by such an understanding."

Though the Congress was concerned primarily with the realities of the present situation and with the actual procedure for dealing with them, growing out of experience, nevertheless it was inevitable (*Continued on page* 169)

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Crime and the Wickersham Reports

By WINTHROP D. LANE

IT is not an over-statement to say that the Wickersham Commission was one of the big adventures of this generation. Thousands—how many thousands?—of years after the first appearance of civilized society, the whole world seemed interested in the suppression of crime. Perhaps the world is not so much interested in the suppression of crime today as it was when to leave your city and go to another city was a grave risk, when a caravan of merchants was practically at the mercy of robbers, when pirates roamed every sea—when to move was to lay yourself open to plunder and attack. But so it seemed. It seemed as if crime today was in no wise under control; it seemed as if there were too many criminals in our cities, and as if they did more or less as they pleased; it seemed as if new criminals were forever arriving to take the places of those dying or otherwise disposed of; it seemed as if the efforts of society to root out crime had failed, and the elaborate machinery of criminal law enforcement had not accomplished its object. Names of such cities as Chicago and New York, where crime was supposed to be considerable, were not necessary to fill in the details of this picture.

It was, therefore, a challenging and interesting moment when President Hoover appointed the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, originally planned for one year but later extended to two, to study many aspects of the subject of crime in the United States and not to stop until it had made accurate determinations of "fact and cause" and had followed these with "constructive, courageous conclusions, which would bring public understanding and command public support."

What did the Commission do? The question is pertinent, both because of the age-old nature of the subject and the hope, held by many, that it would uncover new facts and advise new solutions. It did neither. It stretched a drag-net over the conclusions reached by, and the information possessed by, students of crime for a number of years. It went back to 1910, possibly to 1900. It republished the specific contentions and general point of view of a long line of critical observers.

Look at some of its discoveries. One is that very few decent criminal statistics exist in the United States; many people have been saying this for forty years. Another is that defects lie in prosecution and other parts of the procedure of criminal justice—and innumerable surveys, eminent lawyers and committees of the American Bar Association have made these statements often. The Commission criticized the third degree and presented evidence, which others have done before. It reached back to the Mooney case, declaring that this trial revealed a state of law concerning criminal procedure "shocking to one's sense of justice"—a conclusion advanced by The Survey and others when the Mooney case was news, not history.

It declared that there was a close alliance between politicians and criminals—extraordinary discovery! It opened prison doors and gave, as its considered opinion, that in general prisons are failures, that probation is a good thing but intelligently used in only a few isolated places, and that parole (as a real means of treatment) has hardly been tried—all familiar conclusions. It refused to diagnose the causes of crime, declaring that no useful purpose would be served by putting forth theories "on the basis of some one current psychology or social philosophy, with the certainty that it represents but one phase of the thought of the time and will not long hold the ground."

Coming to expense accounts, it ascertained that the cost of crime is huge but incalculable—and refused to titillate prurient minds by naming a lump sum and saying, "This is the cost of crime." Others have stood abashed in the face of the same impossibility. It accused police forces of incompetence and failure—and made the usual bows to European superiority in this particular. Finally it gave smashing conclusions that we are not indebted to the foreign-born among us for our crime problem—that, on the other hand, in proportion to their respective numbers *the foreign-born commit considerably fewer crimes than the native-born;* and so con-

Publications of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement

To be had of the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., at the prices given, or at $7.20 for the set.

No. 1. Preliminary Report on Observance and Enforcement of Prohibition, Seventy-first Congress, second session, House of Representatives, Document No. 252.

No. 2. Report on the Enforcement of the Prohibition Laws of the United States, January 7, 1931, Seventy-first Congress, third session, House of Representatives, Document No. 722. ($.15)

No. 3. Report on Criminal Statistics. ($.40)

No. 4. Report on Prosecution. ($.50)

No. 5. Report on the Enforcement of the Deportation Laws of the United States. ($.30)

No. 6. Report on the Child Offender in the Federal System of Justice. ($.40)

No. 7. Progress Report on the Study of the Federal Courts. ($.35)

No. 8. Report on Criminal Procedure. ($.10)

No. 9. Report on Penal Institutions, Probation and Parole. ($.60)

No. 10. Report on Crime and the Foreign Born. ($.75)

No. 11. Report on Lawlessness in Law Enforcement. ($.60)

No. 12. Report on the Cost of Crime. ($1.10)

No. 13. Report on the Causes of Crime. 2 Vols. ($1.65)

No. 14. Report on Police. ($.30)

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firmed the observations of social workers and Survey writers.

Upon the ludicrous practices followed in deporting aliens, it heaped severe criticism and gave utterance to a conclusion to be found the The Survey about 1915: "One agency of the United States government [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor] acts as investigator, prosecutor and judge, with despotic powers."

In other words, the Commission revived the familiar and, in a measure, restated the obvious. It embraced the general social philosophy of Jacob Riis and the youth of Jane Addams.

In political terminology, it caught up with the ardor and point of view of the Bull Moose campaign of 1912.

AND yet the emphatic and striking thing is that the Commission did just this thing; it did not wince, but came to enlightened and courageous conclusions. It might not have done so. It might have been very conventional; it might even have justified the charge of pussyfooting. Whatever may be thought of the *melange* on prohibition (which is not under review in this article), it would be hard to dispute that in its later reports, dealing specifically with crime, the Commission stood toe to toe with brave and accurate conclusions.

One skeptical editor wrote, as these documents made front page after front page: "At last the Wickersham Commission has justified itself"; and this is sheer truth. It might have suffered from the blight of Richard Washburn Child's book, Battling the Criminal, and nothing could have been so disappointing and futile. It might have wrapped itself in the cloak of obscurantism worn by Judge Marcus A. Kavanagh, of Chicago, whose The Criminal and His Allies, set the clock back for intelligent dealing with criminals. It might have embraced the philosophy of hard-boiled wardens and young, ambitious and dumb prosecutors.

It did nothing of the kind. It chose to consult experience, intelligence and facts. Whether the ten lawyers and the one woman president of a woman's college who comprise this Commission underwent a process of education, it would be hard to say; they may have had, from the beginning, the essential points of view expressed in these reports. Certainly the chairman, George W. Wickersham, has for long been president of the National Probation Association and has shown in other connections a fundamental grasp of the problem of crime and its not-too-often-thought-of ramifications. In any event, they have summarized much of the best thinking of the time. They have been a sounding board—for the education of the American public. Better even than that, they have been a radio concern, with high-powered broadcasting facilities—and have reached minds and hamlets usually closed to intelligent ideas about crime. Should Europe read these reports, America need not feel ashamed.

What are some of their major conclusions? Obviously we can hit only high spots here. Some of their reports are more interesting to Survey readers than others. Let us look at a few.

The most drastic single statement in Miriam Van Waters' report (The Child Offender in the Federal System of Justice) is that the federal government does not recognize the concept of juvenile delinquency; practically every state recognizes it, yet the federal government looks at urchins and says, "In our eyes you are the same as adult criminals." Among boys and girls of eighteen years and under who are held in jail for federal offenses are runaways who happened to cross an international boundary; boys who had driven a car without the owner's consent and happened to cross a state line; boys who had stolen in a building which happened to house a post office; young sex offenders who passed from one state to another. The great majority were typical delinquency cases, says Dr. Van Waters; only by accident did they fall within federal jurisdiction. "Their offenses," reports the Commission, "are such as call for application of community guardianship. Any state would apply to them the usual technique of juvenile delinquency treatment. Yet the federal government classes them with adult criminals and moves against them with the same machinery which it uses in dealing with hardened offenders." Nor has the federal government adequate facilities for the care of the child offender. Dr. Van Waters (p. 155) recommends a number of administrative measures, pending legislation, for the improvement of this situation.

In respect to prisons it would be almost impossible to summarize the conclusions of the Commission. Let it be stated, however, that as this number of The Survey leaves the presses, embattled wardens meeting at the Baltimore Congress of the American Prison Association (October 18-23), will roundly denounce some of the statements in that report and will complain: "They criticized our prisons without visiting them." Each warden thinks his own prison different from others and pretty good. He does not know what a sorry row of uniform institutions—like Philadelphia double-houses—they are. Says the Commission: "We conclude that the present prison system is antiquated and inefficient. It does not reform the criminal. It fails to protect society. . . . We are convinced that a new type of penal institution must be developed, one that is new in spirit, in method and in objective."

SUCH an institution must accept the view that problems of behavior are problems of behavior, whether characteristic of criminals or neurotics, or the victims of broken homes, or the feebleminded, or persons who are mishandled from childhood—or what not. It must be an educational institution and must accept the responsibility for studying and utilizing whatever therapeutic measures sciences relating to human conduct have to give it. An Advisory Committee on Penal Institutions, Probation and Parole, composed of twenty-four well known students and administrators, recommend that the sentencing power be taken away from judges and that, upon conviction, offenders be placed in the hands of a board of experts and laymen who would study each offender and prescribe the best possible treatment for him.

This same Committee, of which Hastings H. Hart was chairman, makes a far-reaching suggestion for the development of effective probation: that the governments of our states contribute toward the expenses of local probation and that in return for such financial aid the state governments, through appropriate bureaus, be given powers to require higher standards of probation service in the counties. The analogy of state aid to schools and education is cited. By this means, the Committee believes, not only will probation be extended to places where it hardly exists, but better probation service will be attained.

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Among the conclusions about enforcement of the deportation laws, reached by Reuben Oppenheimer of the Baltimore bar, who made the study, are these:

1. The apprehension and examination of supposed aliens are often characterized by methods unconstitutional, tyrannic and oppressive.

2. There is strong reason to believe that in many cases persons are deported when further development of the facts or proper construction of law would have shown their right to remain.

3. Many persons are permanently separated from their American families with results that violate the plainest dictates of humanity.

4. The absence of public findings in the individual cases has prevented the building up of a consistent body of administrative law. . . .

5. The patrol and immigration inspectors are insufficient in number and generally have not the necessary qualifications properly to use their tremendous authority.

6. The defects and abuses inherent in the present system are not primarily the fault of the agency in charge of deportation but result from a number of causes.

Mr. Oppenheimer suggests remedies. The Department of Labor, he said, should be charged only with the duties of investigation and prosecution of aliens unlawfully in this country and of execution of warrants of deportation when issued. Caliber of immigrant inspectors and patrolmen should be raised. State and local authorities should cooperate more thoroughly with immigration officials in investigating aliens subject to deportation, particularly aliens of the criminal classes. There should be an independent board, with some such name as the "board of alien appeals," to be composed of men of judicial caliber and to be appointed by the President. This board should be charged with the duties of issuing warrants of arrest, of conducting hearings on the warrants, and of deciding when warrants of deportation should be issued. It should have broad powers in effecting its own organization.

Hanny in The Chicago Daily News

Trouble with the kite

How easy it is to sink into a morass when one is calculating the cost of crime is easily illustrated. Suppose you steal a hundred dollars from me. I am out a hundred dollars, but are you willing to admit that the community is less wealthy by a hundred dollars? You are not; you probably think you will make better use of the hundred than I will. So, Messrs. Goldwaithe H. Dorr and Sidney P. Simpson, who directed the study of the cost of crime, put the matter thus: "Indeed, to suggest an extreme instance, it may well be that the success of Robin Hood's mythical attempt at a redistribution of wealth by robbing the rich to give to the poor would have been an economic benefit to the community as a whole in twelfth-century England." They limit it, of course, to twelfth-century England and do not suggest that when messengers steal from a bank or boys swipe stamps from a post office, there is any desirable redistribution of present-day goods; to have done that would have been to condone crime. Still, the items comprising the nation's crime bill are large and numerous.

Among them are: cost of administration of criminal justice (police, prosecution, criminal courts, penal and corrective institutions and treatment, and so on); private expenditures for protection against crime (burglar alarms, detective agencies, safes, private watchmen, materials used in making places entrance-proof); private losses due to criminal acts (fires, cost of insurance, personal injuries to victims); losses to the state due to criminal acts; loss of productive labor of criminals; loss of productive labor of law-enforcement officials; cost of books, pamphlets and reports on crime; cost of this article in The Survey; cost of the Wickersham Commission—and many others. The list could be extended indefinitely. Refusing to name a lump sum, the investigators, after extended research, allow themselves a few figures: annual cost of criminal justice is "very considerably in excess of $350,000,000"; cost of private industrial police in Pennsylvania alone "is probably over $1,260,000 annually"; approximately $3,900,000 a year is paid to companies providing armored-car service; cost of insurance against certain types of crime exceeds $106,000,000; loss of productive labor of prisoners and law enforcement officers "may well be as great as $300,000,000 per year."

"It should not require the finding of some striking single-sum figure," write the investigators, "to dramatize the problem of reducing the wastes of crime, economic and social." Printed attempts to name such a figure have in the past varied from $900,000,000 to $18,000,000,000, so it is not surprising that the Commission's specialists refused to follow so helpless an example.

From the unusual study by Alida C. Bowler, in the general report on Crime and Criminal Justice in Relation to the Foreign-Born, the following conclusions were believed to be warranted:

1. That in proportion to their respective numbers the foreign-born commit considerably fewer crimes than the native-born.

2. That the foreign-born approach the record of the native-white most closely in the commission of crimes involving personal violence.

3. That in crimes for gain (including robbery, in which there is also personal violence or the threat of violence) the native-white greatly exceed the foreign-born.

4. That in the commission of certain types of offenses there is considerable variation among the different nationalities within the foreign-born group, but that the detailed data as yet available are insufficient, both as to quantity and accuracy, to warrant the formation of any final conclusion

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as to the comparative criminality of any particular groups.

5. That there is insufficient information available to warrant any deductions as to criminal activity among the native-born of foreign parentage as compared with those of native parentage.

Under the general direction of Edith Abbott, dean of the Graduate School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago, this report contains special discussions of Mexican immigrants and crime, as well as local studies of crime and the foreign-born in New Orleans, in San Francisco and in Stockton, Calif.

AMONG the reasons for the ineffectiveness of the police are: (1) the insecure, short term of service of the chief; (2) the shake-up, due to politics, usually occurring when a new chief is appointed; (3) lack of competent and honest patrolmen and subordinate officers, even when there are civil service examinations; (4) absence of efficient communication systems whereby intelligence of crime and criminals may be quickly spread over a wide territory; (5) the alliance between criminals and corrupt politicians which controls, in part at least, the police forces of large cities; (6) rapid growth of American cities and incoming of millions of immigrants, who tend to live by themselves in our urban areas.

Policemen do beat up persons under arrest, and otherwise misuse them, to get confessions or information. In commenting on the report of its investigators concerning the third degree, the Commission writes:

> Protracted questioning of prisoners is commonly employed. Threats and methods of intimidation, adjusted to the age or mentality of the victim, are frequently used, either by themselves or in combination with some of the other practices mentioned. Physical brutality, illegal detention, and refusal to allow access of counsel to the prisoner is common. Even where the law requires prompt production of a prisoner before a magistrate, the police not infrequently delay doing so and employ the time in efforts to compel confession. The practice of holding the accused *incommunicado*, unable to get in touch with their family or friends or counsel, is so frequent that in places there are cells called "*incommunicado* cells."

The third degree is a "secret and illegal practice," avers the Commision. "Probably the best remedy for this evil would be the enforcement of the rule that every person arrested charged with crime should be forthwith taken before a magistrate, advised of the charge against him, given the right to have counsel and then interrogated by the magistrate. His answers should be recorded and should be admissible in evidence against him in all later proceedings."

One pauses with consternation in front of the 390-page volume on the Causes of Crime. As already intimated, the Commission itself completely sidestepped the subject. Not so Henry W. Anderson, a Commission member, who rushed in where his fellow-angels found the going too slippery and devoted fifty-six pages to a personal evaluation of the causes of crime—much too general to be confined within the narrow restrictions of a short summary.

Morris Ploscowe, a contributor, is one of the heroes of this volume. Adopting the authentic scientific method of reviewing all the world's literature on the subject and paying no attention whatever to criminals, he came to the conclusion that "the soundest data on crime causation" seem to have been contributed by writers on "demoralizing social influences," rather than by those on psychological, inner influences. One concludes from this that he thinks interpreters who look primarily at neighborhoods and environmental forces come a great deal nearer explaining causes of crime

Bressler in The Dayton Daily News

After Wickersham—what?

than do those who look at the effect of such forces upon the individual. After all, plenty of people who suffer demoralizing social influences do not become criminals; what, precisely, happens to those who do?

To go further, Mr. Ploscowe accuses psychologists and psychiatrists of "oversimplifying the problem," whereas it was Dr. William Healy, a psychiatrist, who was among the first to call attention to the *multiple* causes of crime and it was Dr. Bernard Glueck, also a psychiatrist, who fourteen years ago defined crime as the "reaction of a particular personality to a particular environmental force." There has been so much over-simplification among those who have approached the question from social and economic points of view—such as that poverty produced crime, slums produced crime, movies were a great cause of crime, divorces produced crime and the like—that one is astonished at Mr. Ploscowe's awarding of the palm of victory. However, the question is too acute to be settled today. History will tell us whether the sociologists or the psychologists know more about the dynamic causes of crime. Meantime, about the best we can do is to study criminals.

This volume also contains a study of Work and Law Observance by Mary van Kleeck, Emma A. Winslow and Ira deA. Reid. Volume two contains studies by Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay.

We have given some of the high spots of the Wickersham documents. Legislatures, as well as the public, may well make use of these informing analyses of the relationship of crime to social policies and control.

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Photo by Rembrandt Studios, Inc., Philadelphia

LOUIS DEMBITZ BRANDEIS

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Mr. Justice Brandeis

The People's Tribune

By ELIZABETH GLENDOWER EVANS

ON November 13, 1931 Louis Dembitz Brandeis, associate justice of the Supreme Court, will be seventy-five years of age. No one in all the land is more warmly loved and more profoundly respected, so much so that it is hard to remember the earlier days when, known as the Tribune of the People, his struggles against corporate interests which were encroaching on public rights won for him curses from many now ardent in his praise. How account for his career? Has the man conceded to the times, or has he shaped the times to accepting his philosophy?

Looking back, one sees that a passion for freedom belongs to Mr. Brandeis by good right. Both his father and his mother belonged to people eminent for generations in the Old World for their liberal sympathies. His mother's father had taken part in Poland's uprising in 1830. His parents when affianced lovers had migrated to this country soon after the Revolutionary outburst of 1848, they being members of a band of twenty-eight persons who had come hither with wedding chests and vans of furniture,—including a grand piano!—and accompanied by a governess to supervise the education of the children. The story of this romantic migration has been written by Josephine Goldmark, a daughter of one of the young migrants, under the title, Pilgrims of '48, and gives an illuminating impression of the Old World culture of the members of the group and of the hardships which they encountered during their earlier years in the new land. Adolph Brandeis, the justice's father, settled finally in Louisville, Ky., where he became a grain merchant whose fortunes flourished with the abounding West. His house with lawns and trees and stables became a center for musicians and other persons of gifts and talents. There Louis Dembitz Brandeis, the youngest of four children, passed his earliest days.

Louis's parents were ardent sympathizers with the Union cause, and among the earliest recollections of the children was carrying sandwiches and coffee to the soldiers. When Louis was sixteen years old his family went to Europe. On his return he entered the Harvard Law School, and my husband, studying in that school four years later, heard of the reputation which he had left as the most brilliant student ever graduated there,—a record which he holds to this day. From Cambridge he went to St. Louis where he had connections which led straight to power. But after a few months he came to Boston, drawn by friendship with Samuel D. Warren, a former fellow law-school student, with whom he entered into partnership, and drawn too, I love to imagine, by the richer cultural life which Boston offered. Here he began at once to rise to prominence at the bar, while the most exclusive doors were opened to one of his social attractions.

It was in the early spring of 1884 that my husband and I met Mr. Brandeis at the house of Prof. Barrett Wendell, then recently appointed in the English Department at Harvard, who had married a friend of my own. "Is that one of your little charges?" I inquired of Mr. Wendell, struck by the youth and the sensitiveness of Mr. Brandeis's face; and amazed was I to learn that this seeming lad was the "Brandeis" of whom I had heard from my huband since his law-school days. The two men were instant in recognizing their sympathy with each other. Mr. Brandeis became a constant visitor at our house, dropping in to dinner almost every week and often going on long tramps or on boating excursions on Sundays, I sometimes along, a fascinated auditor of their endless discussions. My husband died in 1886, and Mr. Brandeis thereupon silently made himself as it were my big brother. What my life would have been without his friendship and that of his wife, it is impossible for me to imagine.

DURING Mr. Brandeis's first years at the bar, he gave himself with assiduity to the practice of his profession. But gradually his cases aroused his wider thinking and disclosed problems little suspected in those days by the world at large. It was in the late '80's that he showed in his talk that the function of labor unions in settling wages was arresting his thought. He was often in conference with John F. O'Sullivan, a labor reporter of The Boston Globe, and with his wife who, as Mary Kenney, had made her own record in Chicago. Both Mr. and Mrs. O'Sullivan were redoubtable labor leaders. Mr. Brandeis found them out somehow, and he tells today how his talks with them in their little home contributed to his insight into the life and the problems of the working people.

He came sharp up against the strike problem in the late '80's when a client called on him to intervene in a wage contest in his shoe factory. Here he saw the ignorance of the workers of economic conditions from which they were called on to suffer, and he saw the employers scarcely less ignorant.

Like the man she writes of, Mrs. Evans has throughout her life been in the thick of the fray in those causes and movements that have lent drama to the struggle in New England for old rights and new incarnations of the common weal. Summer after summer she has been a member of the family at Chatham, Cape Cod, and there is no one who could with surer and more intimate insight draw the friend no less than the public champion and the judge on his seventy-fifth birthday.

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"You say your factory cannot continue to pay the wages the employes now earn. But you don't tell me what those earnings are. How much do they lose through irregularities in their work? You don't know? Do you undertake to manage this business and to say what wages it can afford to pay while you are ignorant of facts such as these? Are not these the very things you should know, and should have seen that your men knew too, before you went into this fight?"

The result of this contest between master and men was that Mr. Brandeis was agreed on by each side as an arbiter, and the outcome was a sustained wage and regular work for all the employes every day in the year. From that day on the problem of regularizing work has lain in his mind; and the recent recognition that it is the employer's duty to provide the funds to carry labor through its out-of-work periods has grown with him from that far back controversy.

Time and space are too scant to tell here of the many controversial problems in which he took part,—steam and trolley rates, gas rates, minimum wages, Alaska land frauds, savings bank insurance, and many others. In all of these his mind moved like that of a statesman from separate issues to basic principles, always some ten years ahead of the times, and laying out principles which came gradually to be accepted by the more enlightened sections of the world at large. And many are the workers who remember the young champion who sprang to their aid, as it were out of the skies, to win for them some measure of social justice.

It was in 1896, while Mr. Brandeis was still devoting himself closely to his private practice, that he came into collision with powerful persons who earlier had given him cordial welcome to New England. The West End Railway in Boston applied for a charter to construct and operate an elevated railway carrying an immensely long lease, asked on the plea that except under terms which would give the road practically a permanent right of way it would be impossible to obtain the necessary capital. Mr. Brandeis happened to know that much shorter leases were eagerly sought in Canada, and he thought of the time when the people would become aware of this fact and would resent that their property, unknown to them, had been sold for a song. Was it his duty, he questioned, thinking aloud on the river on Sunday mornings, to leave his private practice and jump into a fray which was none of his making? On the other hand, how should he stand in his own eyes if he held his peace when he saw the people's interests jeopardized?

AS a result of these reflections, he appeared as a private citizen at the hearing, and challenged the bill. The proponents were furious; but the bill was defeated and the next year they returned offering terms far more favorable to the public than had been previously offered. Meanwhile, a Public Franchise League was formed with Mr. Brandeis as its unpaid counsel, which year after year examined every public utility bill that appeared at the State House, with the result that Massachusetts escaped the fate which overtook many states in those years of becoming the property of big public service interests. This league it was which saw to it that the leases of various subway bills were reduced from seventy, and in one case from ninety-nine years, to twenty and twenty-five years, leaving the streets of Boston today the property of the city.

In 1906, as the legislature was about to adjourn, a bill to merge the Boston and Maine with the New York, New Haven and Hartford railroad was introduced. It had for some time been known that large purchases were being made by the latter road of steamship and trolley lines in Massachusetts, and this in spite of legislation prohibiting such purchases, framed for the purpose of preventing monopoly. In reading the annual report of the N.Y., N.H. and H., Mr. Brandeis, to whom figures always "talked," observed that the prices paid in these purchases were such as would bankrupt the road unless a monopoly were obtained which would allow a holdup raise of rates. He made inquiries of the road and of others in a position to be in the "know" and received explanations which did not explain. He then laid the facts before the Public Franchise League and it was decided that these questions should be publicly asked, even though this would affront everyone interested in upholding gilt-edged securities held by trustees "in behalf of widows and orphans." These trustees were the first to resent this seemingly impudent challenge to their own perspicuity.

A furious contest ensued which ranged from the State House to every corner of Massachusetts. Mr. Brandeis engaged in a long series of debates with the vice-president of the New Haven. It was during this contest that one heard a charge, long whispered but now grown bold and loud, that Mr. Brandeis was not acting unpaid as a private citizen; he must be secretly retained by some big interests which were seeking to control transportation in Massachusetts. Must not this be so? For was any man ever known to give so lavishly of his professional services except for pay?

TO these assaults upon his character Mr. Brandeis made no reply. *The facts, the facts, the facts,* were his only answer. But in his private talk he would sometimes say: "I have no objection to those who take the merger side. There is always room for difference of opinion. What I do object to is that all 'State Street' and all 'Wall Street' should be for the merger, and among them men who, I know, are under duress. The financial powers behind this measure are so colossal that business men who oppose it must be prepared to be ruined." Here we get a glimpse of the fight in which he had come to enlist, a fight between the freedom to which we in the United States had believed that we were born, and the corporate powers which were stretching out their talons to strangle it. And we understand how it was that when President Wilson named Louis Dembitz Brandeis an associate justice of the Supreme Court, high potentates from Massachusetts and New York flocked down to Washington to enter their protest.

What a fight this nomination precipitated! An appeal to President Eliot of Harvard College to join in the protest brought this rejoinder: "I have known Mr. Louis D. Brandeis for forty years, and I believe that I understand his capacity and his character. He was a distinguished student in the Harvard Law school in 1875-78. He possessed by nature a keen intelligence, quick and generous sympathies, a remarkable capacity for labor, and a character in which gentleness, joy and courage in combat were intimately blended. His professional career has exhibited all these qualities, and with them much practical altruism and public spirit."

"Bob" La Follette, now his father's successor in the U. S. Senate and at that time his father's secretary, told me how President Wilson fought for Mr. Brandeis's confirmation, sending Secretary McAdoo to senator after senator with the question: "Are you with the President or against him in

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this matter which is very near his heart?" The President himself gave out this statement: "I have known him. I have tested him by seeking his advice upon some of the most difficult and perplexing public questions about which it was necessary for me to form a judgment. I have dealt with him in matters where nice questions of honor and fair play, as well as large questions of justice and the public benefit, were involved. . . . I have received from him counsel singularly enlightened, singularly clear-sighted and judicial and above all, full of moral stimulation. He is a friend of all just men and a lover of the right, and he knows more than how to talk about the right—he knows how to set it forward in the face of its enemies. . . ."

IN June 1916 Justice Brandeis took his oath of office on the supreme bench. And thereafter began the long line of decisions in which his passion for public justice, for a chance for the small man in danger of being downtrodden by great powers, has been translated into the legal structure of the nation.

How is Mr. Brandeis to be explained? Is it because he is one of an oppressed race and is thus sensitive to the wrongs of the downtrodden? As against this often argued thesis be it remembered that he has never suffered from racial discrimination. Prejudice against the Jews was unknown in Boston when he first came. As a more probable explanation, my mind runs back more than forty years when, a young man on the rising rung of his profession, he was retained by a religious institution to secure a subsidy from the commonwealth. He had carried the petitioners successfully through the committee stage before it became known to the small group which takes an interest in such questions. A protest was raised and the committee reopened its hearing, when the counsel for the petitioners failed to appear! In explanation of his withdrawal he said to me later, with the inward glow upon his face of one who had been under a deep religious experience, that the public discussion had showed him that his clients' case was contrary to sound public policy.

This early questioning of the duties of those asking privileges from the state took him far. He thought of lawyers, the most highly placed in the land, accepting big fees to be recouped out of the pockets of the people for franchises of whose value the legislature had no least conception and with no one to argue the interests of the other side. Such a situation flew in the face of the ethics implicit in legal practice that assumes counsel on either side to represent opposing interests. Never, he silently resolved, would he accept a fee out of so unequal a contest.

From this resolution came his refusal to appear before the legislature in behalf of special interests, and incidentally from this came his appearance time and again as unpaid attorney for the people. The ethics of his attitude in this matter is beyond dispute. But far off, alas! is still the day when his code is even suspected by many persons of high repute.

In his private life, Mr. Brandeis is a friend of friends. He is immense in his loyalties to ties both far and near. He has been a rare son and brother. Hs wife is the friend and comrade with whom he shares his whole mind. Almost forty years ago, when they were engaged to be married, she accepted his ideal of living far within the scale which his professional income would allow, keeping their lives free as no lives can be free which are pinched for money, and leaving plenty available for their public interests. His abstemious habits have grown on him. But he spends money freely for what he thinks worth while, and he is known to have poured it out like water in behalf of furthering some cause that he made his own. A few old woolen suits and sweaters, a warm corner in which to rest, a great store of books and, until recently, a canoe and a reach of water on which for many years it was his delight to paddle,—these have been his only requisites for his holidays.

Justice Brandeis's mind in his seventy-fifth year was never more swift and more sure. His conversation ranges from the times of classic history, of trade routes and the sources of food supply of Egypt, Rhodes and Attica, down to the affairs of today, when it is grappling with the newest problems of these new and revolutionary times. He has always been an immense worker.

But when the day's work is done, it is done. Only the very rarest circumstances ever enticed him into an evening conference. It has been his habit to rise at five or six o'clock, and even in the summer to put in some hours of hard thinking and writing before he joined his wife for a paddle across the wide reaches of the bay or up into narrow inland waters, or latterly for a walk on the moors.

The fierce contests of youth lie far behind. As a judge of the court of last resort, he is debarred from taking public part in contests. But he does not chafe at the limitations of his position. An opinion which plumbs to the depths is worth making. If it is a minority opinion, it is worth the making all the same. He was always free from acrimonious contentions. There is no criticism of judges who speak on the other side. "The Lord is in Israel" one seems to hear him say—but in imagination only, for his words are unbuttressed by spoken religion. To think problems through to the far end, to speak for the right as he sees the right, that he conceives is the greatest service he can render. And always he remains in his sympathies the Tribune of the People.

Lavender and Snow

BY ETHEL ROMIG FULLER

"Lavender bags,
Would you care to buy?"
Her plea on the wind,
A broken cry;
Her skirt, ice-carven
To her thigh.

"Lavender bags,
Three for a quarter—"
Strange merchandise
For winter barter!

Lavender bags
Tinseled with sleet;
Lavender . . . snow,
A quaint conceit—
Breathe on your fingers,
Stamp your feet!

Peddling lavender
Zero weather—
A girl must keep body
And soul together.

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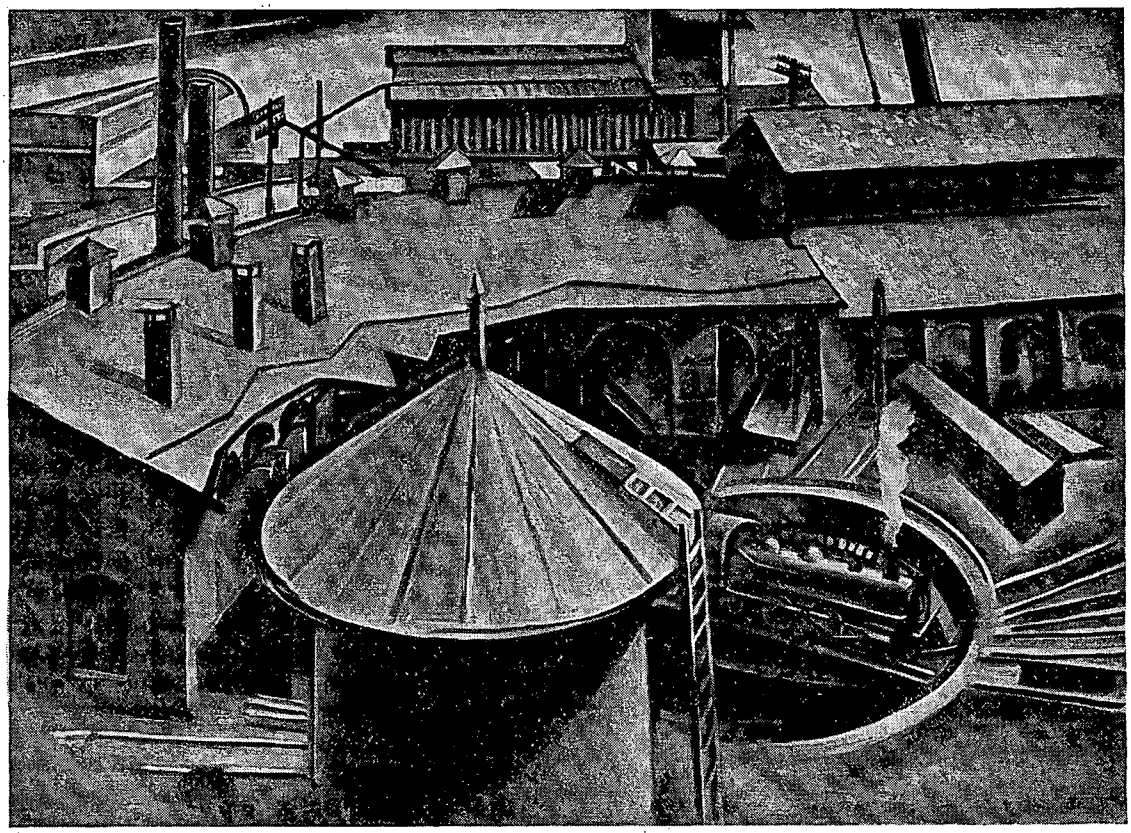
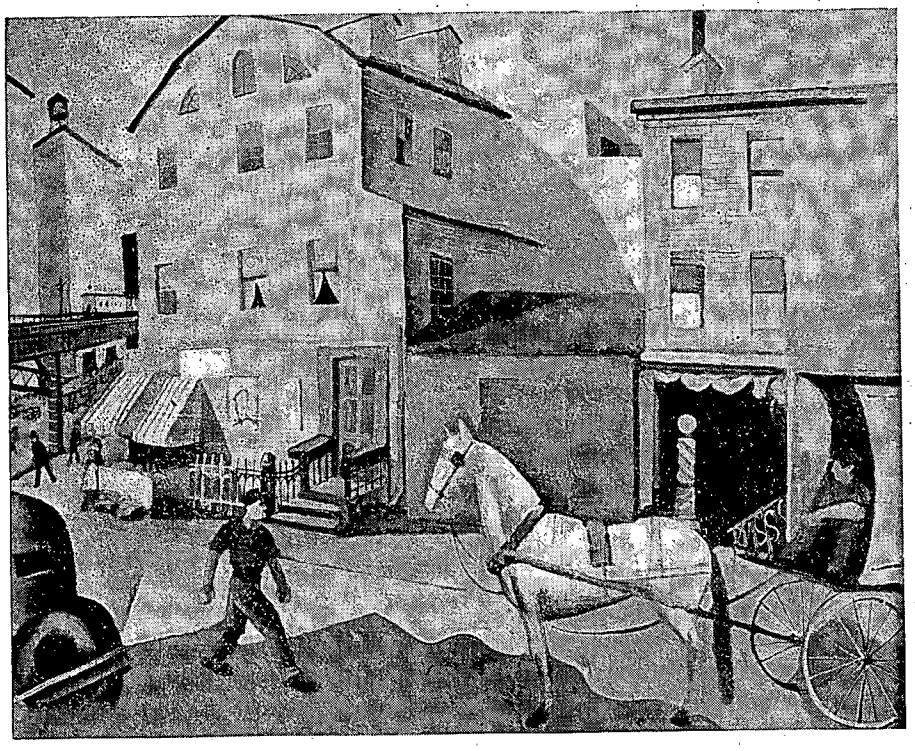
Scene: America





Above: The Roundhouse by Charles Rosen. Loaned by the Frank K. M. Rehn Galleries, New York. Left: Old Quarter, New York, by Nicolay Cikovsky. Loaned by the Daniel Galleries, New York.

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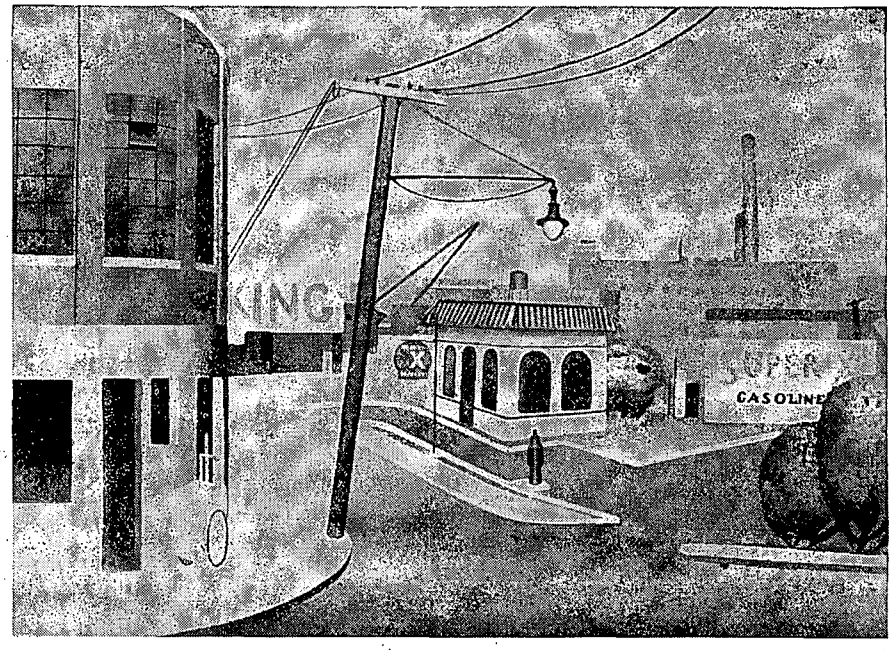

Above: Poor Man's Pullman by Clarence H. Carter. Loaned by the Frank K. M. Rehn Galleries, New York. Right: The Gas Station by Charles Goeller. Loaned by the Daniel Galleries, New York.

ONE of the most active organizations in the vast movement to popularize art in this country, a movement growing so rapidly that the results are taking on the aspect of an artistic Renaissance, is the College Art Association, which sends traveling exhibitions, groups of prints, water colors, oils, both foreign and American, current and classic, to museums and colleges throughout the United States. From one of their new shows—oils of American scenes and subjects—we have selected for reproduction the work of artists who have never before appeared in The Survey. Three of them are little known: Carter lives in New York State; Goeller teaches art at Cornell; Cikovsky is from Russia and came to this country only eight years ago. Rosen is represented in at least six of our museums. American subjects do not automatically produce American painting; foreign scenes painted by an American are not inevitably foreign painting, —but the College Art Association feels that "each of these men paints as he does because he paints where he does;" that what these dissimilar artists have in common, a "feeling for place, so long lacking in American painting, gives to their work not only local color but character, a certain, sturdy authenticity."

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AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

October 13, 1931

Honorable Herbert C. Hoover,
President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

You have given the country assurance that suffering among the unemployed will be prevented, so far as possible, and alleviated where prevention has failed. By bringing Mr. Gifford and his associates to Washington to assist in the fulfillment of that pledge you have afforded the country inspiring leadership to which people everywhere are responding with confidence and enthusiasm. Nevertheless there is a growing feeling that the federal government may have to do more than stimulate and coordinate local effort. Many persons close to the actual problem foresee the possibility that local funds may not be adequate to meet the great distress which is anticipated this winter and that federal appropriations will be imperative. The thoughtful citizen whose mind is not yet made up on this question finds himself in doubt on two points:

1. Is it true that many localities are unable to provide the money needed for unemployment relief? Is there any substantial body of fact, other than the horseback opinions of officials and social-service administrators, upon which to base a judgment?

2. If outside aid must be provided, can a federal appropriation be so administered as to avoid the dangers of "pork-barrel" legislation with its paralyzing effects upon local initiative and its uncertain benefits to the millions of needy persons who are the intended beneficiaries?

The purpose of this letter is to suggest that reliable data can be secured on the financial competence of the local communities which would help to inform and guide public opinion. Further, should supplementation prove to be necessary, a federal appropriation can be wisely administered on the well established principles of grants-in-aid such as have been successfully provided for education, roads, infant hygiene, etc. In this connection may I commend to your consideration the report of the subcommittee on the Federal Government and Child Welfare of the White House Conference of which I had the privilege of being chairman. This report, in discussing grants-in-aid, refers to them in part as follows: "It is the clear opinion of the sub-committee that grants-in-aid constitute a governmental technique peculiarly fashioned to the needs of the American people and nicely adjusted to the American governmental structure under the Constitution."

While this report was directed to federal aid for child welfare its reasoning is pertinent to the not unrelated subject of unemployment relief. May I now deal more at length with the two points raised above and begin with the means of determining the adequacy of local funds.

The historic policy of America has been to regard the relief of suffering as a local responsibility. Each community ought to care for its own so long as it has the resources to do so and under normal circumstances no other course of action would be suggested. However it seems clear that in an emergency, history and tradition will not be permitted to stand in the way of meeting widespread human need once the need has been demonstrated. It is a fact that, with few exceptions, communities have been slow to recognize the full effect of existing unemployment on their people and have delayed too long the planning of all inclusive, community-wide programs of relief. Reliable information on the numbers of unemployed has not been available until recently and it has been difficult to determine how many of those unemployed were without reserves and in need of outside assistance. Breadlines constitute a visible and dramatic sign of want but they give the public a wholly false idea as to the character and extent of real destitution. It is not the homeless man in the breadline but the family in the tenement and on the farm which is our chief concern. However, we are getting below the surface, more adequate community plans are now being made and each locality is beginning to make more satisfactory estimates of its total relief needs.

WHEN the estimated cost is arrived at, it will be met in two ways: from the public treasury and by private philanthropy. How far can these sources of funds be expanded to meet the emergency demands? Since approximately 70 per cent of relief expenditures throughout the country is provided out of the public treasury, it is reasonable to suppose that taxation rather than free gift must be our main reliance. Can the local governments increase their taxes or enlarge their bonded indebtedness in the required amount?

The answer to this question will be determined for each community by the margin between its present total annual cost of government and the total amount which it is permitted to raise annually by taxation and the issuance of bonds. In some communities there will be no margin because tax-rates and bonded debt are already up to the constitutional limits. In others there will be a small margin and in still others a substantial margin which can be made available for unemployment relief. What is greatly needed at the present time is a rapid but objective study of the financial status of local governments throughout the country. Reliable information can be secured only by independent inquiry—telegrams to mayors, governors and governing boards will not answer the purpose. It is recognized that such an inquiry is a tremendous undertaking but it is by no means impossible nor impracticable in view of the great human issues involved.

If after such investigation it appears that relatively few local governments are without power to provide their own relief funds, special means might be devised to help them without resorting to a gen-

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ON FEDERAL RELIEF APPROPRIATIONS

eral federal appropriation. On the other hand, if it turns out that a very substantial number of localities in various parts of the country are unable to bear the load, we shall know that federal aid on a broad scale is inevitable. In the long run private philanthropy can only supplement taxation—it cannot be substituted for public funds as a source of revenue for unemployment relief.

If the resources of local governments prove to be inadequate, in a substantial sense, the problem then becomes one of establishing a satisfactory partnership between the federal government and the localities in providing unemployment relief. It is clear that the substitution of federal funds and effort for local revenues and initiative would be a tragic mistake. The power of the federal treasury must be used to help the destitute communities outright, to aid the more prosperous localities according to the particular measure of their need and to stimulate all the local governments to the utmost of which they are capable. We must establish a productive partnership which calls forth the best which the national and the local partners have to offer, thus swelling the total relief by the full contributions of each partner. If instead of this, millions of dollars are appropriated to be distributed on some rough measure of equity, like population, and without the most careful and discriminating type of administration, local effort will be paralyzed and the federal treasury will be substituted for the treasuries of the local governments, thus in the end decreasing the total available resources.

The distinction here is sharply illustrated by the difference between the way millions of dollars are ladled out to communities under the rivers and harbors appropriations and the wise expenditure of federal money under grants-in-aid to stimulate local effort. In the former case the primary consideration seems to be that each locality shall get its share of the money available—a mere arbitrary division of a common equity. In the latter the gift is conditioned upon the locality providing sound education in agriculture, or building good roads, or rehabilitating disabled persons, or giving better care to mothers and babies. The more the locality does, the larger its share in federal funds. The part of the federal government is to make its gifts of money a means of inspiring high standards of performance in the local communities.

As the report of the Committee on the Federal Government and Child Welfare points out, the demonstrated advantages of federal partnership with the states through grants-in-aid are many, and the first one is that the principle of local administration of local affairs is preserved—there is no real danger of federal bureaucracy. The initiative of the states is insured and their active acceptance of local responsibility encouraged by requiring them to match federal appropriations with their own. Moreover, without jeopardizing local autonomy the federal government through its visitation and inspection can focus upon local administration the broad experience and expert knowledge of a central authority.

Grants-in-aid can be appropriately extended to unemployment relief and the difficulties of "pork-barrel" legislation avoided, provided broad authority coupled with wide discretion is vested in the administering federal agency with only such general limitations and restrictions as experience with this type of aid has proved to be necessary and beneficial. Obviously, however, the usual requirement that the locality match federal appropriations dollar for dollar must be modified by leaving the manner and amount of matching to the discretion of the administering authority.

Moreover, federal money should be available for use in the localities for administrative purposes as well as for relief. There is a current notion that large relief funds will somehow administer themselves. Emergency committees are eager to announce that all their funds are for relief and that no part is used for administration. Yet every intelligent person knows that the history of relief throughout the world has been, until fairly recent times, a story of tragic waste where more harm than good frequently befell the beneficiaries. One reason for this result was the assumption that the distributing of funds to the needy did not require intelligence, experience and wisdom coupled with human sympathy. Let us make no mistake in this emergency about the absolute necessity for competent administration with adequate personnel trained to its task. This applies both to the localities where relief is actually being dispensed and to the administering staff in Washington. The grants-in-aid provided in other fields have properly laid great stress on efficient execution of the law with as much safeguard against political interference in the choice of policies and personnel as is possible in this mundane world.

MR. PRESIDENT, I offer all of the foregoing expressions of my personal opinion with some hesitation. Your high place of responsibility at the seat of government gives you knowledge and insight regarding the total situation which no citizen can possibly have. Moreover, it may seem gratuitous to offer suggestions to one of your distinguished service in relieving human distress in many parts of the world. However it is given to you, out of your own unique experience, to provide the leadership which millions of suffering human beings await with a hope that holds despair in abeyance. Your fellow-citizens appreciate the enormous responsibility which is yours, they understand your profound concern that suffering shall be reduced to a minimum and they await your call to join in bold and constructive action for the public welfare.

Very respectfully yours,

WILLIAM HODSON

Executive Director, The Welfare Council of New York City

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Meester Gibich

By JAMES M. FELKER

I SUPPOSE Joe Gibich is dead now; he was dying when I saw him last. But, if he is dead, it does not trouble me: Joe would be happy anywhere.

"Da name is *Meester* Gibich! Whata yours?"

Thus, in the locker-room of a tuberculosis sanatorium, I met Joe Gibich. Thus everyone met him. He reached out an earnest hand, and grinned—grinned with his eyes, his nose, his mouth. And a stranger responded to that clasp and grinned back. Joe Gibich missed his destiny. He was born to be a door-to-door purveyor of vacuum cleaners. The most badgered of house-wives, stewing in a welter of interrupted washings, jangling telephones and scorching pies, would have found herself incomprehensibly returning Joe's grin. Not only would she soon have a new vacuum cleaner, but Joe would probably have a cut of the pie. His was that kind of grin.

But I am forgetting that Joe's garbled gutterals would not pass muster as the fatuous speech of a salesman. I forget too that he never wore a necktie, and that his Magyar love of color was apt to find startling ways of manifesting itself in the matter of shirts. One simply forgot such things in Joe; or perhaps, condoned them because Joe was by way of being a genius and therefore permitted to foster foibles. Joe Gibich was intuitively, spontaneously and perpetually a Good Fellow. I am sure that such a man must be a genius.

Small glinting brown eyes; massy cheek-bones; a gigantic hooked nose; strong, yellowish teeth; an olive skin—these were all in keeping with Joe's gypsy heredity. Sloping, powerful shoulders; thick wrists; knotty biceps; heavy tread—these attested to his long years of rugged labor in the mines. But Joe's hands were very fine, such hands as were not to be looked for in his kind. The fingers were long, and thin, and flexible, with regular, limber knuckles in spite of endless gripping of shovel and pick. The nails, always impeccably clean and trimmed, were smooth and narrow, and without the distortions common in a laborer's nails. Delicacy and grace were in Joe's hands. They wielded his straight-edge razor in artistic, caressing flourishes; they riffled cards with the ease and finesse of a gambler's nimble members. I asked Joe one day how he, a miner, had managed to keep his hands unscathed. He held them before his face, flexing and turning them; it was a long moment before he answered.

"You see, some day I like to play de fiddle. Let's go play checks."

Joe loved checkers. As the play moved in his favor his charming, ingenuous grin widened until his face seemed all teeth. A howl of glee marked his first king; a stentorian shout announced his victory. And because he played the game well, his triumphs disrupted the sanatorium atmosphere frequently. It was part of the game that we retire in high dudgeon after Joe had conquered us, muttering dark insinuations about people who moved two checkers at once. His victorious chortlings turned at once to abject apologies. He trailed us like a dog, seeking our forgiveness, protesting his utter honesty, begging that we be good sports enough to shake hands and not "getta sore" over an insignificant game of "checks."

"Meester Gibich sorry. Please be friends. I cannota help—you all time make such a dam' moves. You—aw, you joost tease Meester Gibich ....." (The blanks suffice for the strange rumbling oaths Joe employed to express extreme gratification.)

One obsession burdened Joe Gibich: his beard. What a beard! He scraped it assiduously, explaining to all who would listen, over and over again, that the like of his beard was not to be found in all the earth. In truth, it was such a beard as would cause a less purposeful character to join the House of David in despair. Two of Joe's characteristics however, or rather, one characteristic and a penchant, precluded this desperate move on Joe's part. First, he was stubborn as a burro and the beard didn't exist that could make him yield. Second, he was as keen for swapping as any of his gypsy forbears. Not having much of this world's goods beyond what he wore on his back, Joe had small means with which to practice his skill. Razors, though, were within his scope. Every razor in the sanatorium passed, at one time or another, through his hands. It became a standing topic among us. The merits of Joe's latest razor were discussed as seriously as "form" at a race-track. I came to appreciate what balance, and feel and edge could mean in a razor; the advantages of a square point over a blunt point; the necessity of a rough handle of the stag type. Every male patient knows what an important place the fine art of shaving holds in the monotonous sanatorium days, and Joe was the pith of our shaving talk. In some mysterious fashion, the honor of the sanatorium came somehow to be involved; a razor must be found that would cut Joe's beard twice before honing.

BUT Joe knew what he wanted. He scorned our offers to help him buy the best instrument Sears Roebuck had.

"Nev' mind. A guy in da cottage has gotta da knife I want. You vatch. Pret' soon, I ketchum."

"Ketch" Joe did. We hailed the victory of the wily Gibich, not only because his consummate bargaining had brought him his heart's desire, but because his was a clannish triumph of our ward over the cottage. I was among the initiates at the premiere of the new razor. Truly, it was a jewel without price.

A day or two later, I discovered Joe shaving with one of his old instruments. He seemed sad as he hacked away; plainly some ghost that he had thought buried and harmless had returned to haunt him. He explained:

"It's lika dis. I trade dat guy two for de good one. Needer of dem cutta butter. After I shave wit dat guy's knife, I tink: 'Joe Gibich, you a liar.' So—I trade back."

Many months passed before I discovered that Joe's grins, and hearty laughter, unfailing humor and delightful comradeship, came at a price. One oppressively humid night, I sneaked out to the washroom for a smoke. Joe was there: he sat crouched upon a stool, hand pressed against his right side, agony in the look he turned on me. The stubs of a

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dozen hand-made cigarettes littered the smudgy tile floor around him. He said no word, but smiled, wanly. It came to me suddenly, that Joe's hand was often pressed at his side, fingers interlaced in the webs of his suspenders. The gesture had never struck me as significant; I had thought it a mannerism. I questioned him, of course.

"It is de side. Alla time pain, pain. I was operate four years 'go. Appendeex. I tink wat doc left knife in me. Most time I stand it. Tonight, bad."

Had he reported to the doctor?

"Sure. I tella him two—tree months 'go."

Had he said anything?

"Yes. He said I wasa to go to de hospeetal sometime."

We sat in moody silence until the night-nurse shooed us to bed. Joe carefully picked up the cigarette stubs, deposited them in the waste-can and shuffled off. My request for a sleeping powder or even a few aspirin, was curtly refused. "If Joe wants something, he'll ask for it."

Joe never went to the hospital. Stoics are not rewarded in tuberculosis sanatoria. No, we must say nothing to the doctor. Joe had told him once. It wasn't so bad; he could stand it. He wasn't a squawker.

"Da doc—he is beezy man. He cannota boder wit Meester Gibich."

Joe hated three kinds of men: the squawkers, the hypocrites and the cowards.

The squawkers he dismissed because they bit the hand that fed them.

"Dat guy!" he would say contemptuously. "He wasa eat dam' sight worse grub before he come here. Why he not go if he not like wat he eat?"

The hypocrites were simply liars.

The cowards—Joe could not understand cowards. In all his life, he had never been afraid. When he told you that he "wasa not 'fraid o' nuttin'" you believed him. But if Joe could not understand cowards, he understood cowardice. I shall never forget a certain man who lost caste among us because Joe understood and ruthlessly named the cancer that gnaws at a soul.

We sat one evening, indulging idle minds in the intimate gossip so dear to the hearts of the confined. The character of one Tubby was dragged into the arena and flung to the wolves. Consensus of opinion made Tubby out to be a good-enough fellow, but a queer one. It was conceded that he seemed to be in the best of condition. He was never heard to cough; he enjoyed full exercise privileges. Yet, he spent at least twenty hours of every day in bed—and flat! Why? Joe spoke.

"I tella you. Dat guy is dyin' becuz he is 'fraid to die!"

We took Joe soundly to task; he had broached the unpermissable subject. He submitted, too meekly. There was a smirk in his unwonted humility that said, more plainly than words, that the subject of Tubby had suddenly become distasteful for a very good reason: we lived in glass houses. In our hearts we knew Joe despised us, and we envied him the magnificent disdain that lifted him above even the fear of death. That session of Grundyism broke up prematurely. Many months later, Tubby died. He fought the anesthetic of an emergency operation, and the soporific, applied too often, worked havoc in him.

I cannot tell you how old Joe was; his crisp hair was graying, though, and a bald spot was prominent on the back of his skull. I cannot tell you where he was born or anything of his early life. I do not know whether he had a wife, but I do not think so, for he was clumsy and incoherent in the presence of women. Such things I never learned, probably because Joe was that rare man who takes of his friends only what they choose to give him. Instinctively, therefore, the friends of such a man reciprocate. Joe's passing left me with only the memory of the man himself, a picture with neither high-lights nor shadows, a stark figure etched against a simple background.

I can tell you, however, what Joe thought of life and death. Life is fun, and living it is fun if you believe in the Golden Rule. The Golden Rule worked for Joe. That is all one needs—just,

"I wasa not hurt nobody if I cana help."

DEATH was an incident to Joe—nothing more. Maybe there is a life after death—no one knows. Joe understood a heaven, but not a hell. His heaven, I know, need be nothing more than a place that supplies fiddles, garish shirts, incredibly sharp razors, and plenty of friends. A brutish concept. No. We see so few men who are humble and ask little of God and life, that we fail to recognize one.

So we were a downcast group, bidding good-bye to Joe Gibich that November morning. His county had built a new sanatorium and Joe was transferred to it. He shook hands with each of us in turn. He was gaunt and pasty; red-rimmed eyes, in blue-black hollows, told of sleepless nights. But the eyes still sparkled.

"Gooda-bye, boys. Meester Gibich an' you friends, eh?"

His only worry concerned the kind of men his new mates were to be. Would they be his friends?

As though Joe Gibich would ever want for friends!

The bus bore his grin down the slope, around the turn, and out of sight.

That one among us whom Joe had named "Beeg dum' Swede" spoke an epitaph to his memory:

"There goes the only lunger I ever knew who would quit smoking when he didn't have money enough to buy his own tobacco."

The End of Day. Woodcut by J. J. Lankes

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A Great Neighbor—Dwight W. Morrow

By JOHN PALMER GAVIT

"HIS house was by the side of the road, and all men were his friends." I have forgotten who it was that Homer thus described; but it might have been written of Dwight Whitney Morrow. In his own home, two days before he so suddenly slipped from mortal sight on October 5, he shook hands with upward of four thousand people, until his right hand was crippled and blistered and he had to enlist his left. He had been told, after at least two ominous heart-attacks during the summer, that he must live at lowered pressure; for example, must limit himself to three holes of golf in any day—every golfer knows what that must have meant for a golf-addict such as Morrow was.

He meant and tried to follow the advice; but was temperamentally so eager for activity, so keenly alive to every affair and need for human-kind, in his own community, his own nation or any other under the sun, that he simply couldn't do it. Any idleness of mind or body, however called for by weariness or illness, spelled misery for him. More than ordinarily in the present state of affairs, those charged with responsibility and weighed down by the spectacle of human suffering and bewilderment, the threat of worse to come, the black pall of uncertainty overhanging every people, were begging for his counsel, his power to inspire men to action; his uncanny common-sense and wisdom. He could not refuse. In the week before his death he attended conferences in Washington, on Saturday he thus welcomed that horde of friends, neighbors, political constituents. On Sunday evening in New York, before the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies, he put all of himself and more into a speech which brought that great gathering cheering to its feet. On Monday he was to have participated in a conference on aviation. But on Monday morning, resting from this tremendous output of continuous effort—too much even for a man in vigorous health—the overstrained physical machine gave out and stopped.

It was bound to happen. However well he understood that there are only one hundred cents in a dollar and that he who spends more is at the door of bankruptcy, he never learned that the same is true of physical expenditure. Besides, he was a good sport in the finest sense of the term; it was not in his fabric to quit—even to oblige the doctors.

"You do not dare to fail!" he had cried to that gathering of the Jews. It was the slogan of his life from its beginnings; I never have known a man who drove himself so mercilessly, whose mind held so little room for thought of failure, or of relaxation until the last ounce of effort had been spent, until the last "i" had been dotted and the last "t" crossed. In the last naval conference at London they were nearing the end; somebody called attention to the fact that it was lunch-time.

"It won't be lunch-time," said Morrow grimly, "until this job is finished." So they stuck to it for hours longer, under such impulse concluding in days a task that commonly would have taken weeks or months. This is the spirit that burns men up; undoubtedly it shortened Morrow's life by many years; but it gets things done, hammered out while the iron is hot.

CAPACITY for friendship and understanding is the chief secret of Morrow's genius in dealing with men. He trusted them, and they trusted him. He was not gullible; he understood very well the forces in human character that have to be reckoned with, that underly and undermine the best-laid plans. But he had no use for the intricate legal technicalities with which lawyers seek to safeguard agreement; he wanted such things clear and terse. The more meticulous the written niceties, the more the loopholes for evasion. Of treaties seeking to anchor peace he said: "We cannot write anything on parchment that will make men trust other men. Before universal peace comes men must desire it. Men must not only desire agreement with their fellows, but must be willing to get the truth about their fellows, without which agreement is impossible."

He said that in 1919, in what I think was the first book[1] published in support of the Covenant of the League of Nations, while the controversy over it was hottest between President Wilson and the "little group of willful men" in the Senate of the United States. Characteristic of his mental posture was his deploring of that controversy; I believe that had Morrow been a member of the Senate at that time the outcome might have been very different: the present state of the world quite otherwise.

"Surely," he wrote, "it is the duty of all reasonable men to avoid the assumption that those on the other side have motives less disinterested than their own!"

Many have listed him among the conservatives, even as a reactionary. I do not believe he can be classified at all. I think of him as a radical. His thought of what the world might become ranged far, far ahead; he was always thinking in terms of the universal, the fundamental. He was for example immensely interested in the tremendous experiment in Russia; I doubt anybody's ever hearing from his lips either contempt or hostility toward that vast nation or their effort to construct out of the dark void of their past a habitation for their future. I know of no person of more omnivorous interest, more comprehensive sympathies, more liberal temper.

Freedom of speech he took for granted as the chief essential of democracy, of liberty. In the little book above referred to he said: "Whatever may be true of other races, the Anglo-Saxon race has not found any method of discovering political truth or error that compares with courteous controversy in public. . . . The temper of discussion is a test of capacity for self-government."

He was fond of quoting Alexander Hamilton's remark in the first number of The Federalist: "In politics as in religion it is equally absurd to aim at making proselytes by fire and sword. Heresies in either rarely can be cured by persecution."

[1] The Society of Free States, by Dwight W. Morrow. Harpers. 224 pp. Now out of print.

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He was only disgusted by the current ballyhoo against social, economic and political dissent. Once he said to me of a certain vociferous agitator: "Certainly the man is an ass, but how will the people know that he is an ass unless you let him talk? Besides, if I consent to gagging him, pretty soon he or somebody else will get into power and proceed to gag *me!*"

BUT, however fast and far and high his own mind soared, his feet stayed always on the earth. He had little patience with demagogues; mostly they amused him, and he was a deadly enemy of *bunk*. Fine-sounding phrases, hifalutin platforms, panaceas, utopian schemes and isms of all kinds instantly challenged him to dissect them, to see whether their legs were long enough to reach the ground. He was always going behind the names to look at the construction, to pull out the stuffing. Of a well known person I heard him say, chuckling as he said it: "He calls himself a pacifist, but in fact he is about the most quarrelsome man I know. His kind of temper and talk is what keeps war alive."

Morrow found great sport in tilting with the "parlor pinks" of his acquaintance; digging gleefully into their intellectual insides to see whether they knew what they were talking about; deftly exposing the foundations of their theories and convictions; backing them against the wall with demand for facts.

He had a passion for facts. Before undertaking any of the amazingly varied tasks that have marked his career, in the fields of social welfare, prison reform, war service, Cuba, Mexico, aviation; as well as in the profession of law, intricacies of business and finance, he would dive profoundly, exhaustively, into the study of the subject. When he emerged he was likely to know more about it than even the experts. He had nothing less than a lust for reading; anything printed was grist for his mill—so much so that people arranging for conferences in which he was to participate took care to see that not even an almanac or a cook-book could be within reach of his hand; else he would grab it and be forthwith lost. The subject mattered not. It was he who first awakened my own interest in Crete and the pre-Grecian civilization in the Mediterranean Basin. He roamed and was at home under any wayside tree in the realm of ideas; or, rather, among them he was like a fox-terrier in a prairie full of gopher-holes. I do not know a person to equal him in eagerness of mind; to no subject under heaven was he indifferent.

SON of a poor college president, he was born and brought up in the days when a quarter was a Lot of Money, a dollar a handsome Christmas present from the rich uncle who if he did not change his mind and his will might leave you a fortune of one hundred dollars. He came to be really rich in the modern sense, but he never lost his sense of proportion about money; never forgot that when he was married his salary was eighteen hundred dollars, his house-rent thirty-five dollars a month. He never cared much about money. Once in college he somehow became possessed of five dollars, a fabulous sum. To his roommate —no, it was not Coolidge—he proposed that they go to the theater. Said roommate was at the time penniless, and demurred. "Five dollars—"

"Let's go," said Morrow. "Twenty years from now I shall have plenty more and not miss this; or if I am busted I shall be glad we had this fun."

Twenty years from then he was a member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. About that time the senior class at Amherst voted upon the question, who among them was most likely to succeed in the world. All but one of the class voted for Dwight Morrow. Morrow voted for Calvin Coolidge. Pretty good guess, either way.

He always wanted to teach; he would have been—he was in fact—a great teacher. He incited people to think, with their brains rather than with their emotions, on the basis of facts fully and accurately known. The great law firm which employed him after 1899 made him a partner to keep him from going back to Amherst to teach. After he entered the Morgan firm in 1914, J. P. Morgan is said to have remarked that it would be worth one hundred thousand dollars to the firm to get Morrow to resign his membership and activities as a trustee of Amherst College. They were trying to make him president of Amherst when he was summoned by President Coolidge to become ambassador of the United States to Mexico. Forthwith he surrendered all his business connections to enter the public service, in which, one may not doubt, he would have traveled far.

MEXICO offered the hardest job in the diplomatic service. It is the bare truth that for long the American Embassy in Mexico had been a source of anything but amity and good understanding between the two nations. To it Morrow took, to be sure, his usual equipment of extraordinary (however recently acquired) knowledge of the country to which he was commissioned—he had made a business of reading everything available in print, of talking with everybody who could tell him anything. But he took something very much more important; namely, the will to understanding and friendship, his gift for neighborship. He called upon the President of Mexico, not as a dignitary in formal panoply but as man to man. He took with him no interpreter, symbol of suspicion, but was content with Calles' own translator. And together these two neighbors, bent upon cementing friendship between two great nations, ate ham-and-eggs together and talked, as neighbors talk, of the things of common interest. That instant ended, let us hope for all time, the mutual suspicion that has marred the relations of the two countries for more than a century.

This may be hardly the place to dwell upon the good fortune of Dwight Morrow in having married in his days of relative poverty a girl phenomenally congenial in mind and spirit. Nobody could estimate how much she has added to and intensified his life. We who long have known them both fully realize that. It is, however, important and germane to say that the wife and family that Morrow took to Mexico immensely multiplied the power of human sympathy and understanding that infused his service there. Into the social life and contacts of that service went all that we mean, of significance and personal outgo, by the influence of an American home. Women and children, in Mexico City and at Cuernavaca where Morrow built a summer residence, will long remember, not an official ambassador, but friendly folk who met them on human terms.

A little man, physically, this Dwight Morrow—not greatly over five feet, I should guess; but he had a large head and it was full of brains—in many respects the best brains that I ever have come in contact with. And those brains were warmed and guided by the never-failing impulses of a great heart. Born with a genius for neighborship, he has been summoned all too soon to that congenial fellowship of great souls whom hitherto he has known in books, whose mighty interplay constitutes the moral atmosphere of the universe.

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Letters & Life

In which books, plays, and people are discussed

Edited by LEON WHIPPLE

Gold in What Hills?

SHADOWS ON THE ROCK, *by Willa Cather. Knopf. 280 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
THE BORDER, *by Dagmar Doneghy. Morrow. 343 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
BROTHERS IN THE WEST, *by Robert Raynolds. Harper. 299 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
THE REDISCOVERY OF THE FRONTIER, *by Percy Holmes Boynton. University of Chicago Press. 185 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
THE BEGINNINGS OF AMERICAN ENGLISH, *edited by M. M. Mathews. University of Chicago Press. 181 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

ARE American novelists afraid of their own times? It has been a terrifying generation, say since the Spanish-American War, unimaginably swift and complex. No one understands its essence or meaning: it is a gamble whether posterity will name it the Machine Age or the Age of Social Disintegration or the Era of Humanitarian Reform . . . or for some undeciphered character that we, its members, do not suspect. But certainly our times have expressed some kind of vast urge and change and been rich in drama. They offer a glut of the raw matter for great social fictions; yet this richness has been met by a timid refusal on the part of most of our novelists to undertake the big current themes. Our business, our science, our politics, our engineering do not tempt them, but rather bewilder and even revolt them. The daring interpreters of this recent America make a short roll of honor: Dreiser, Upton Sinclair, Lewis, Dos Passos, Dorothy Canfield, Carl Sandburg, and with lesser powers, Arthur Train, Struthers Burt, and a few others. Yet the rewards of their strenuous spiritual confrontation of their own age are clear: they have won both honor and power. They not only pictured, they helped make the age.

Now the others who refused the challenge whether through paucity of creative power, or hatred of an utilitarian generation, or the sense that the disunity of national life gave no background, or lack of grasp, or personal neurasthenia, followed two logics. They practiced withdrawal, either into themselves or into the past. From the first we got the vast recent output of what may be called the literature of persons with its tangle of psychology, sex, domestic relations, disillusion and jazz. Part of the age, useful, instructive, and often fascinating it is; but it has not in general been creatively related to its own causes. Such books seem case-studies and not symbolisms of the national spirit or the machine coercions or religious failure. The current fashion for crime and vice, gangs and racketeering, in fiction is more closely related to the American pattern, however journalistic, one-sided and melodramatic are the forms. This literature of persons seems divorced from the national drama and to spin itself *in vacuo*. Some day perhaps a great satirist may picture this whole psychological phenomenon as part of the time, just as sport is part of the time, and show both deduced from machine-leisure. The book will be as shattering and gorgeous as Don Quixote. Meanwhile such literature remains a kind of regionalism, the region being the psyche.

The other regionalism, withdrawal into a place or time, is old and clear. It is producing the highest level of fiction in America at the moment though the samples of this fall noted here are not superior. America is the best theme for American authors; there is gold in the hills; and whenever our feet touch native soil we get new strength. It may be the regionals are doing the real job. Accepting the fact that you cannot understand your own times or master a nation, they master a region or offer a synthesis of a past generation in which both characters and events have been cleared by age. Indeed perhaps their withdrawal is more than defeatism; it may be an instinct for preparation by building up our pride in the past, our consciousness of what America is, and so pointing out the road and offering courage for tomorrow. Can there be unity today without some sense that there was unity and high emprise yesterday?

The list in this rough category of regionalism is long and impressive: Cather, Hergesheimer, Glasgow, Zona Gale, Edna Ferber, Masters, Rölvaag, Ruth Suckow, and the promising younger set, Elizabeth Roberts, Westcott, La Farge, Edmonds of Rome Haul,

"I'm big and bad and six-foot tall. I comes f'm de Black River country whar de sun don't never shine and I takes de shade for no man. I kin lift five hund'ed pounds er cotton at one lick and I kin sink a nine-inch spike in a white-oak tie. I kin fire for One-Eyed Bill Shelly and I kin roust a hog like he was a sack er meal." So John Henry, great man of Southern Negro work songs. Roark Bradford has made an epic built up from these fragmentary songs, from other songs, the rhythm and poetry of the speech of the Southern Negro, and his wisdom, humor and types. Now John Henry's story is sung from lusty beginning to brave end. J. J. Lankes, who made twenty-five woodcuts for the book, accompanies the song in the same mood. F. L. K.

JOHN HENRY, *by Roark Bradford. Harper's. 225 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

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Benet of John Brown, Howard Odum, and the O'Neill of certain plays. They are competent artists who can create atmosphere, character and background and weave them together for social revelation of a place or a period. In craftsmanship they are probably better than those who stumble after a whole picture of the present. You will note that many are women—and interpret that as you want: maybe from the home sense or the need for family tradition. You will also note they may be called native and rural as opposed to the Continental and urban strain in our letters. Are they spokesmen for the vanishing American moved by nostalgia for the old ways and places, defiantly setting down the record of the Golden Age before its final souvenirs are engulfed by a United States of power-lines, skyscrapers, and international bankers? I do not know; but I find I glory in their endeavors and garner both pleasure and inspiration from their tales.

I know, for example, a little about Missouri in the Civil War. The "damned Yankees" have always been held responsible for my lack of family silver. Therefore I enjoyed The Border, with its sub-title, A Missouri Saga. It is not a very good novel, but it is a clear and often moving record of the border warfare between Missouri and Kansas, of Quantrell and his guerillas, of farm-land and horses, and above all of that intense drama of the Southern stock with its slaves and its pride. The scene where Mrs. Leinster's last house-servant leaves and the mistress undertakes to make biscuit is symbolic of what happens to individuals when a nation upheaves its foundations. I think it is good for this generation to learn that Jayhawkers is something older than the name for a Kansas football team. This simple story, rich with the folkways of a small section during a few years, gives the sense of what it costs to make a country in men's labor and women's tears.

WILLA CATHER'S fine art paints pictures of old Quebec in the one year 1697 to 1698, measured by the sailing of the ships for France one summer and their return the next. This shuttle weaving from the old land to the new is her motif. The pioneers are always dependent on the mother land not only for material things but for cultural standards and the sense of continuity in life. On the contrary, they are always breaking up the inherited forms and ideas under the disciplines and spiritual stresses of their adventure. So the gentle-souled daughter of the exiled apothecary, motherless at thirteen, strives to keep house and live graciously as the mother taught her they lived in old France. But in the end she marries the far-ranging woodsman who is Canadian and represents all that is new. This historical implication is scarcely stressed; the story moves with a kind of pastoral sweetness and beauty through the year's events as revealed to the eyes and heart of the little Cécile while the grim old Count Frontenac ebbs to death in the chateau on the grim rock. The apothecary, Euclide Auclair, imports drugs and comfits for the homesick, and likewise the philosophy and spiritual mood of the elder land. He is beautifully drawn as are half a dozen characters, Bishop Laval, the trapper, Charron, Frontenac, and the recluse who has her cell built behind the altar of the church in Montreal. It is like a gallery of old and mellow pictures. The tale is slight, the motif an undertone, but the people and the moods of the grim rock make the novel memorable.

BROTHERS IN THE WEST seems to use the West only as a tapestry background for a fantasy. The brothers are giant wanderers, loving each other even in death, who collect an odd caravan including the girl one steals from another feeble wanderer. The gypsy trail leads through the West and into Mexico to the final settling of a home, but this West is merely a stage-set for high-pressure emotions between the girl and the brothers and their retinue. I suspect there is some sort of symbolism in the hunger of the girl for a child, and in her destruction by the death of the child she finally bears—there is plenty of sex. And the wanderlust and the companionship of men on the trail is true of pioneers. But I lost interest after these magicians supplied the needs of four adults for a winter out of the load on one pack-horse. My uncle once got snowed in burro-packing stuff to Cripple Creek and said he lived two weeks on nothing but onions. I doubted him and I doubt this sentimental and artificial tale.

SENTIMENT is the ruination of many novels on the pioneer, says Mr. Boynton in his brisk study of the rediscovery of the frontier in literature. The pioneer himself was sentimental and save in his popular journalism was always posing in the literary conventions of his cultural home-land. Even Willa Cather (says the author) did not undergo the life of the pioneer but records it from sympathetic observation, and being sympathetic finds something of beauty and happiness. She had not the hardihood to submit to her material. The truth is the individual pioneer was always conquered by the frontier; the pioneers together always subdued the frontier. But all suffered. "The movement was impelled by poverty, manned by youth, buoyed by hope and maintained by hard and unremitting labor." The romance was only for the tourist.

Boynton combines economic interpretation, defense of a beloved region, and literary criticism in a most instructive and engaging way. The volume is a good primer on the field, solidly grounded in Turner's doctrine that the frontier process was an enormously important determinant in American life. He defines the frontier and dates its passing; discusses how it has fared in literary criticism; and offers some analysis of the novels on the American pioneer, the immigrant pioneer, and what he calls the back-trailer, like Hamlin Garland. His thesis sometimes betrays him into horse-back judgments and his treatment is too brief to carry full conviction. But his plea for sincere realism (which he finds most abundantly in Rölvaag) and his gay ferocity against myth-makers about the frontier offer compensation.

DOES American literature need an American language? and did it ever have one? Mr. Mathews here pursues the old debate back to the Colonies in a series of papers he has dug out from authors like Dr. John Witherspoon, Noah Webster, the lexicographer, John Pickering, the philologist, and assorted English and American travelers. It is a vastly entertaining compilation from which you will dig your own local expressions with great joy. The conclusion is that there is no American language and the words we thought peculiarly our own go back to England and Scotland. Even the Indian and Negro have left scant gifts. Our classics, if and when, will have to share their language with Shakespeare, Milton and Keats.

Meanwhile the question drums in the mind: is this renascence of interest in American regions and American periods, hail or farewell? Are we collecting our memories to comfort us on a voyage into chaos? Or are we mustering our traditions to restore the strength of pioneers? LEON WHIPPLE

The Great Experiment

THE WET PARADE, *by Upton Sinclair. Farrar & Rinehart.* 431 *pp. Price* $2.50 *postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

WHEN the history of prohibition is written students may well turn to this novel for an understanding of that great company of Americans who are prohibitionists. For prohibition is essentially a woman's crusade, an attempt by wives and mothers to save their husbands and sons from destruction. The night the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted the homes and churches of America—hundreds of thousands of them—were full of women on their knees thanking God for his mercies. The saloon was gone. But again they had failed—tragically. Even so ardent a dry as Upton Sinclair has no doubt of it.

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Not as an abstraction, but as a vital part of social history—so John Dewey writes of philosophy in the essays brought together in this book, which also includes a hitherto unpublished discussion of Science and Society.

PHILOSOPHY AND CIVILIZATION, *by John Dewey. Minton, Balch. 334 pp. Price $5.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

This book is the story of a Southern family whose delightful plantation life has been preserved to our time. Maggie May, the younger daughter, has for her childhood hero her father, a handsome, scholarly man who, among many virtues, carried his liquor like a gentleman. Slowly, as Maggie May grew up, she sensed something wrong with him. Eventually, without a word having been said to her about it, she knew that father was "drinking" and from that time on she became a part of the woman's conspiracy.

All her girlhood Maggie May had no life of her own, for she must wheedle her father to go walking, she must play cards—anything to keep him at home. For years she poured her whole self into this losing cause. Young fellows who came to call on Maggie May caught the situation, politely took a hand in the dull card game, admired the girl's pluck—and did not come again. Finally this drunkard who was a gentleman and a loving father, saw there was no compromise between his insatiable thirst and the ruin of his family. So one evening, very carefully dressed, he went out to a place where any resulting mess would make the least trouble, and cut his throat.

There is the best part of the story though by no means all of it. Maggie May goes to New York and visits in a rich man's home where she observes his cocktail-drinking young. She learns how men profit from illegal liquor as they did from legal. She marries a conscientious fellow who joins the enforcement bureau and is shot by a bootlegger. She comes out of it a temperance lecturer—a woman telling other women the story of her youth and appealing to them to band together to abolish a monstrous evil.

Upton Sinclair has no cure-all. His final words are "Prohibition has not failed! Prohibition has not been tried! Try it!" His book might be interpreted to justify that conclusion or to justify something quite different. But it is a comforting and wholesome thing, at this particular time, to be reminded that prohibitionists are not all pharisaical politicians but women and men who have suffered greatly and are determined that the next generations shall not drink of this same cup of suffering. Wet reviewers have found The Wet Parade to be fair and moving. It may turn out to be not another Ten Nights in a Barroom, as someone has suggested, but something akin to Uncle Tom's Cabin.

ARTHUR KELLOGG

Negroes as Americans

BROWN AMERICA: The Story of a New Race, *by Edwin R. Embree. Viking Press. 311 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

FOR a century or more all who wrote about the Negro in America were too partisan to see straight, and the results were about as true to life as a prize debate. Here at last is a sane, non-controversial and graphic account of the American Negro that has dared to state the basic truths which the partisans would too often suppress and has remembered to state the commonplace essentials which the experts too often have taken for granted. So we are indebted to Mr. Embree for one of the most readable and informative books in the whole range of the literature of this subject; one especially useful, as the author himself says, "for that great group who are hopefully called intelligent laymen."

Even the title—Brown America rather than Black America—is nearer the truth than we have usually come. Taking the most recent scientific conclusions that the American Negro is really something anthropologically unique, Mr. Embree makes it his basic theme that we have a situation without historical precedent, one that has infinite possibilites as a race in the making reacts to the stimulating stresses and goads of the New World.

It is sound and constructive doctrine,—to base one's hopes for the Negro in a general American program and objective and yet, without invidious separatism, to find room for the continuance and development of his racial individualities.

Mr. Embree's account of the Negro's past qualifies as excellent history not so much by exhaustiveness or erudition as by scrupulous, even-handed honesty, incisive common sense, and the graphic touch. Almost at random one may pick out such terse pithy statements as this:

> As a race, the Negro is on our conscience, and by a principle of psychology understood by every schoolboy, we turn our distress because of him into active enmity against him. During slavery an intellectual justification of caste was built up that is slow to down. . . . The inertia of all this official talking down of the Negro persists long after the occasion for it has passed.

In much this vein, Benjamin Franklin might have written of the race question. It is just such basic honesty and common sense that on both sides must ultimately become the great social solvent between the races. Particularly sound and penetrating are the chapters on discrimination and Southern oppression, Odds against the Nigger, and the appreciative account of the Negro's artistic and cultural contribution, Soil and Soul. It will be a long while before another book appears to excel or even equal Brown America as an undistorted and panoramic picture of the Negro in America. The book is in every way worthy of the spirit of the constructive and common-sense humanitarianism of the two great philanthropists, John G. Fee and Julius Rosenwald, to whom it is dedicated.

Howard University ALAIN LOCKE

India's Apostle to the British

MAHATMA GANDHI AT WORK: *His Own Story Continued. Edited by C. F. Andrews. Macmillan. 407 pp., including Appendices, Bibliography and Index. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

BEFORE me as I write about this book are photographs of an incredibly emaciated little man, hardly more than a living skeleton; unprepossessing, almost grotesque in physical appearance; come from India to London armed only with his own personal force of character and conviction of right and

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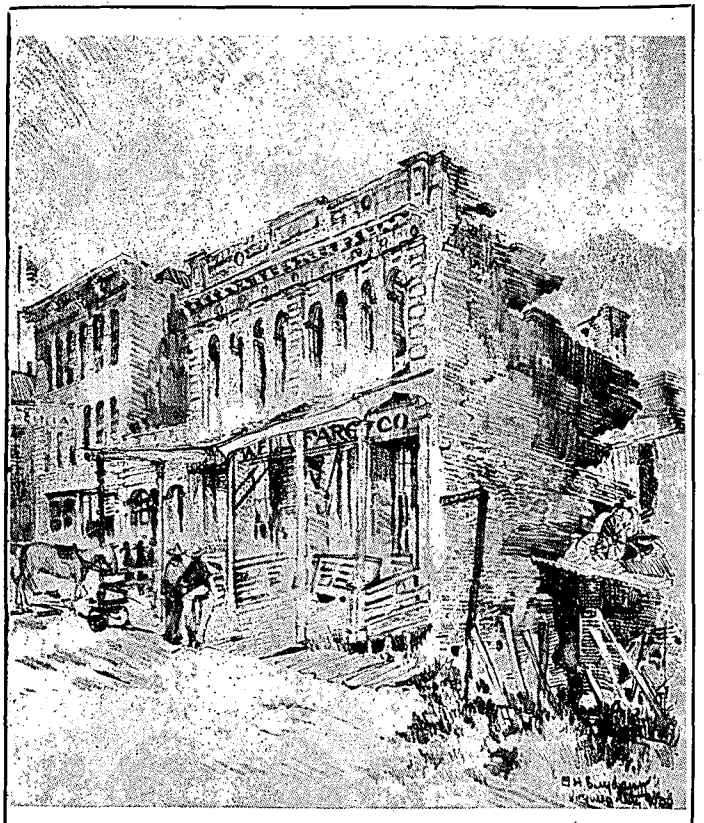
truth, in behalf of India's millions to beard the British lion in his den. He was quoted the other day as having said at the party in celebration of his 63rd birthday, that the Indians were "willing that holy Ganges should run red with blood, if that were necessary to gain the freedom so long delayed."

That sounds as if he were advocating and threatening a revolution of violence. To realize how far that is from Gandhi's mind and purpose one need only read any, or better still all of the three books in the series of which this (though in publication the latest) is the second: Mahatma Gandhi: His Own Story, published a year ago; the present volume, and Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas, reviewed by me in Survey Graphic some two years ago. Together they comprise one of the most astonishing autobiographies I ever have seen. They make clear beyond a question that Gandhi abhors every form of force in the relations of men save the eternal force of right and truth. At the core, unyielding by any hair's-breadth of concession in his own defense or for any other purpose, are *Satyagraha* (Truth-Force or Soul-Force) and *Ahimsa* (Non-Violence). Passive resistance nominally, but resistlessly aggressive in the determination to suffer any pain or penalty, to the point of starvation, torture or death, rather than to accept injustice. More terrible than an army with banners are they who demand to be sent by scores and hundreds to jail for open refusal to obey; who indeed feel that somehow they have been recreant unless they have been in jail.

Nothing could be more naive than Gandhi's own story of how he got this way; of his boyhood "sins" and short-comings, confessed with shame but with ruthless candor as if with penitential intent. Here is a composite of Pilgrim's Progress, Thomas à Kempis, Jeremy Taylor, John Woolman, Tolstoy; seasoned with a dash of Benjamin Franklin! As in the two earlier volumes, much credit is due, for clear translation and on the whole excellent editing, to C. F. Andrews, who perhaps better than any other Westerner *senses* Gandhi.

Regrettably the story stops short of the famous pilgrimage to the sea to make illicit salt, and the later periods of imprisonment; though all these things were implicit in the situation. It does make clear the steps by which he has come to his present influence. One sees also the menace lying behind him; the probability that he cannot control the tremendous force of resentment of which he is the present spokesman. In the midst of Britain's other troubles he invades the British citadel, to serve notice that British rule in India is at an end. None can foresee the outcome; but this autobiography displays very clearly what manner of man this is who walks, thus alone, unarmed and unafraid, into Caesar's inner court, in the name of countless millions of his subjects to repudiate the authority of Caesar.

JOHN PALMER GAVIT



You will visit "a town which dug its own grave" if you go motor-bussing with Mary Day Winn and E. H. Suydam on the 10,000-mile trip from which they brought back this pungent book of American places and people.

THE MACADAM TRAIL. *by Mary Day Winn. Knopf. 319 pp. Price $5.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

Two Sides

LIBERALISM IN MEXICO, *by Wilfrid Hardy Callcott. Stanford University Press. 410 pp. Price $5.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
PROLOGUE TO MEXICO, *by Marian Storm. Alfred A. Knopf. 328 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

THESE specialized and opposite books each present one of the two sides of Mexico which most occupy intelligent visitors: the romance of the landscape and the people, the accomplishments of the revolution. Taken together they would give a fairly complete picture of the country. To read Miss Storm, to be sure, you would not gather that Mexicans had any government at all. A fugitive army officer, a prohibition parade of school children, and the anniversary of a revolutionary battle in Mazatlan—these are the only hints she gives of Mr. Callcott's "liberalism." To read Mr. Callcott you might picture Mexico as a level plain, and the Indians as a sort of bed of cinders, downtrodden and smouldering.

The word "liberalism" seems out of place in Mexico. If the country contains any of the cool, tolerant observers who are called liberals in Anglo-Saxon countries, they are products of foreign education, Mexicans by loyalty but not by nature. Patriots there are in Mexican politics, and corrupt grafters, confusingly often the same persons; but liberals and liberalism are alien quantities. Called by whatever name, however, the book does record in scholarly fashion the stages of political progress from the time of Juarez down to the year before last. It traces the origins of the 1917 constitution (the meeting which adopted it most graphically portrayed) back to that of 1857. This is probably as good a limit as any, though there had been earlier outbreaks of "liberalism," and though many of the reforms then instituted were erased and rewritten again and again. The latter fact doubtless accounts for a certain lack of continuity in the material which makes the reading rather hard.

The book assumes prior knowledge of many points, including the obscurer of the innumerable presidents of Mexico. It records, administration by administration, the status of education, the Catholic and Protestant churches, land distribution, the position of women. Incidentally, I suspect that the author overemphasizes the influence of Protestant missionaries. Admitting their small number at the outset, he says: "Yet they were the cocklebur under the saddle blanket that caused the Mexican people to give their religious masters, the Catholic clergy, many a vigorous and breath-taking ride." The behavior of the Catholic clergy themselves was reason enough to take them for a ride. By 1925 the Protestant enrollment had reached only 32,499—something like one fifth of one per cent of the population.

Possibly he overemphasizes the whole "liberal" movement, while failing to bring out the full psychological effect of the recent pro-Indian policy. In other countries laws, documents, official statements may be taken (with salt) to represent real reforms. Not so in the eloquent, oratorical circles of bour-

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geois Mexico, where even small promises and social engagements are made not to be kept. The estimate of Diaz is one of the best balanced of all the histories in print. The bibliography is ample and scholarly. It omits certain important sources—Gruening and McBride, Edwards' Protestantism in Mexico, and the author's own work on the pre-Juarez period—all referred to in footnotes.

MARIAN STORM, who ignores politics, understands the temper of Spanish Mexico rather better. Her chapters, The General's Horse, and The Strength of the Hot Country, reveal a shrewd comprehension of the casual, stoical, expressive people who "prize the beautiful intention above the grey actuality," and whose cardinal sin is to be "without formality." The Indians, too, are more than "masses still largely inarticulate," as they must be to any one for whom a strange peon has silently lighted the path for a mile, walking himself in the ditch, or for whom an Indian artisan living in a mud hut has woven a *sarape* or embossed a saddle or engraved a steel blade.

Her colorful, over-sentimental reports hang upon a quest for a sort of spiritual home, and her chief interest is botany—the names and habits of the wealth of flowering shrubs and trees that grow so carelessly and look so improbable. To like-minded visitors her descriptions and her botanical glossary will increase the pleasure of their travels. She must have chosen her town—Uruapan in Michoacan—before the invasion of radios, movies, and city clothes. Or perhaps the orchards she explored there, with her keen, detailed gusto of the solitary traveler, made up for the rest. MARIAN TYLER

Georgetown, Conn.

Dramatic Portraiture

SALT OF VERMONT, *by Walter Hard. Stephen Daye Press. 96 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

WHEN my aunt came home with an early copy of Walter Hard's Salt of Vermont, for some reason I took out his old book—I mean his first one, now about two years old, Some Vermonters. That first book has in it a poem, a grim, gaunt and tender one, which is dear to many people. It tells of the old parents driving down the mountain to court, the mother repeating at intervals along the green and lovely way the unchanging cry, "He never done it. He never done it!"

I thought I shouldn't be able to find anything quite so much to my mind and heart as this in the new collection of these brief, dispassionate character pieces which Walter Hard writes. But in the new volume I find two which stand out, I think, among all his poems because they deliver, all unpretentious and individualistic as they are, judgment upon two great problems of our time. One is A Peace Plan. The first few lines of this give, as usual, the circumstances and habitual behavior of two Vermont men; the last few lines contain the encounter between them, and the unbeatable international advice.

> Abe had been drinking one day
> And he came in and demanded a loan.
> Without any apology the Deacon refused. . . .
> —Come out here, you measly little whelp
> And I'll give ye a good lickin'. . . .
> —What did you say, Mr. Johnson?
> —I say if you'll come out here, I'll lick ye.
> The Deacon smiled and said quietly,
> Then I shan't come out, Mr. Johnson.

The other poem I find so significant is Farm Finance.

> —Ed, how're you getting on with farming?
> Edgar wiped the sweat from his forehead.
> —Oh, I'm gettin' on pretty fair.
> I find I can lose money farmin'
> Slower than anythin' else I've tried.

Every time I read Farm Finance I remember the comment of a Californian Vermonter, on the beautiful old farmhouses that lie scattered about from Manchester and Wallingford up through Rutland and Fair Haven. For when someone said to him, "How many beautiful old farmhouses we pass!" he said gravely "Yes; but no new ones." Well—at least most of them are well kept up and cheerful with children and flowers. Not many are deserted.

There's only one more of these poems that I mean to men-

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tion, though I sympathize with The New York Times reviewer who quoted A Shopkeeper entire. A Mountain Pioneer distils the very essence of those mountain-top villages, from which the valley railroad drained away the life, now long deserted, empty, whose houses lie collapsed, flat as houses of cards, on their half-reforested meadows, so tiny and narrow—pasturage for a single cow, perhaps, fifty years ago.

It breathes out, between the lines, all that Vermonters—that New Englanders—feel, drawing them back into the past. It exhales, at any rate, the delicate, wistful personality of Stratton, the lovely, foresaken town where ninety years ago Daniel Webster spoke to fifteen thousand listening Vermonters. Now the very road thither (from our valley) is gone, washed away by the floods of 1927.

Vermonters, whether native or such "by adoption and grace," will want Salt of Vermont. SARAH N. CLEGHORN

Manchester, Vt.

From Wide Angles

FOUNDERS OF GREAT RELIGIONS, *by Millar Burrows. Scribners. 243 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
CHRISTIAN FAITH AND LIFE, *by William Temple. Macmillan. 139 pp. Price $1.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
CHRISTIAN SCIENCE AND ORGANIZED RELIGION, *by Hugh A. Studdert Kennedy. Farallon Press. 335 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
AS A JEW SEES JESUS, *by Ernest R. Trattner. Scribners. 232 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
LIFE OF CARDINAL NEWMAN, *by Gaius Glenn Atkins. Harpers. 338 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
JOHN CALVIN, *by Georgia Harkness. Henry Holt. 266 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
A PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THEOLOGY, *by Walter Marshall Horton. Harpers. 279 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

A MOST striking thing about religion is the fact that, with a certain underlying uniformity of impulse, it can find so amazingly many forms in which to clothe itself. There are, literally, as many variations in religion as there are human beings—precisely as there are as many rainbows in a cloud as there are eyes to see them. All the rainbows have a common source, but the fact that there are many observers makes absolute duplication impossible. Here is a group of new books on various phases of one subject. Strange, isn't it, how inescapable religion is? The pietist will build a moral code out of it, the biographer will find the key to a character in it, the historian will trace its influence in human affairs, the theologian will organize it into creeds and codes, the atheist will deny it and the agnostic will hunt for further light upon it—but nobody will ignore it. It takes a powerful agency indeed so to grip and compel the attention of all sorts and conditions of men.

Doctor Burrows' volume is a series of sketches dealing with the history and legend connected with the lives and teachings of Lao-Tze, Confucius, Mahavira, Buddha, Zoroaster, Moses, Mohammed, Nanak, and Jesus. Some will wonder why he omitted Mary Baker Eddy. Perhaps it was because we know too much about her—and this is evidenced by the fact that he has leaned very heavily upon tradition and legend. Of course, in the case of, say, Zoroaster or Nanak, he couldn't do otherwise. And he is quite right in assuming that legend may offer a more accurate picture of the personality and character of a great man than any meticulous history could possibly offer. Great characters give rise to great legends, great traditions.

WILLIAM TEMPLE, archbishop of York, being a churchman and a "very reverend," presents a treatment of religion which is conservative and churchly. He deals with God, Christ, Morals, Repentance, the Crucifixion, Sacraments, Prayer, The Holy Spirit, and the Christian Society. And while he never permits the reader to forget that the writer is occupying a position of churchly importance, his chapters contain so much of insight and common sense that one comes to feel, very quickly, that he holds his position because he amply deserves it and justifies it.

STUDDERT KENNEDY, brother of the "Woodbine Willie" of war days, undertakes to present Christian Science as the religion which will come to natural supremacy when our present over-organized and over-institutionalized Protestantism shall have (*Continued on page* 156)

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Edited by P. A. SOROKIN, C. C. ZIMMERMAN, and C. J. GALPIN

Publication of Volume III this month will complete this encyclopedic work, which Dwight Sanderson says is "indispensable to every serious student of the subject." The three volumes present translations of all the outstanding material on rural sociology, gathered from many times and peoples, and prefaced by critical and explanatory introductions. New Russian sources are a valuable feature. Volume III contains the index to the entire set. $6.50 the volume, $15.00 the set of three

THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA PRESS, MINNEAPOLIS

(*Continued from page* 155) crumpled and collapsed. Just a glimmer of doubt comes to the reader—is not Christian Science also an institution, and is it not being organized more and more tightly? At any rate, here is a presentation of the life and technique of Mrs. Eddy, strongly biased in her favor, accompanied by a considerable mass of excellent source material.

RABBI TRATTNER is still on the sunny side of thirty-five, but has gained a world reputation as the author of religious books which are sane, liberal and especially readable. He here presents a liberal Jew's answer to the question, What does a Jew think of Jesus? Rabbi Trattner can preach in any one of a score of Protestant pulpits known to this reviewer—including the reviewer's—with perfect propriety and without the shadow of offense. A few years ago, Rabbi Enelow, another liberal Jew, stated that Jesus might yet become the bond of union between the liberal Jew and the liberal Protestant. This volume by Trattner adds force to Enelow's hope.

THE biographies of Newman and Calvin offer some interesting contrasts in Christians. Newman's story centers, as it should, about the Oxford Movement, and Newman's feeling of desperate need of the Catholic assurances. Where else in history can a man be found who has so sweetly and so permanently affected Catholicism, Anglicanism, and the free churches, all at the same time? Doctor Atkins has done a charming and instructive piece of work in this biography, without losing sight of the weaknesses in Newman's position. In the case of Calvin, the reader is due for some surprises. Calvin actually had, and expressed, some very pertinent and positive views on such problems as unemployment, socialism, divorce, and companionate marriage—to mention only a few! The volume contains a considerable quantity of material not hitherto published in English, and taken from little-known letters and incidental writings by Calvin.

NOW—this is a mighty wide range of interest and expression for anything under the sun. From the Archbishop of York to a protagonist of Christian Science; from ancient Zoroastrianism to modern Judaism; from Catholic mysticism to Protestant dogmatism;—this is certainly a wide terrain. Is there anything common to all of it?

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What are the elements which all treatments and exponents and expressions of religion have in common? They have in common a hunger for "more life and fuller"; a conviction of the reality and validity and accessibility of Something above and beyond mankind, yet friendly to mankind; and the passion to achieve the more abundant life through contact with this Something.

Mr. Theologian, meet your friend Mr. Psychologist!

Colorado Springs, Colo. CHARLES STAFFORD BROWN

Footnotes to an Epic

THE TEMPO OF MODERN LIFE, *by James Truslow Adams. A. and C. Boni. Price $3.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

PUBLISHED almost simultaneously with The Epic of Modern Life by the same author, this volume of essays may be taken as either a potage or a pudding, depending upon which of the two books you happen to read first. Having tried it as the former, I am inclined to recommend it as the latter. The Epic—a philosophical history of the development

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of the American dream—is written in the manner of a *pièce de resistance*. The Tempo of Modern Life is chiefly a collection of magazine articles. This description is not derogatory—there is inevitably only a nominal unity in the book, but there is substance in the articles. Read as footnotes or appendices to the larger essay, they give emphasis to the Epic's theme and furnish sound elaborations upon certain phases of modern American life which are traceable to events and movements described in the historical volume.

Mr. Adams is a critic with a view broad enough for perspective, but not so philosophically detached as to rob him of a genuine emotional response. This alone entitles him to a salute of twenty-one guns and a thick shower of ticker-tape. He writes as a man in and of contemporary life. It is faint praise to call him a liberal, since that once-beautiful and shining word now reminds one a little too much of a solid gold wedding-ring from the five & ten. He does a fine job of hating false-front culture, scientific holier-than-thou-ness, educational Pollyannaism, and the kind of liberty that requires the good people of Boston to go to bed without reading Warwick Deeping. But he can make you feel that London's Kensington Square is Paradise and that the Dayton fundamentalists are a sight more honest than most of their sniffing critics.

With a tachometer that has been kept in excellent repair, he sets himself the task of measuring and evaluating the following American trends:

the substitution of self-expression for self-discipline; of the concept of prosperity for that of liberty; of restlessness for rest; of spending for saving; of show for solidity; of desire for the new or novel in place of affection for the old and tried; of dependence for self-reliance; of gregariousness for solitude; or luxury for simplicity; of ostentation for restraint; of success for integrity; of national for local; of easy generosity for wise giving; of preferring impressions to thought, facts to ideas; of democracy for aristocracy; of the mediocre for the excellent.

He thinks that most of these trends are leading us further and further from a genuine culture as they glorify the material, the temporary, the superficial, and the lack-lustre ideals of the much-taught but little-educated mass-mind. We bustle and hustle. We have "no time" to think. Our energy is spent on *doing* instead of *being*. We cannot stop to let our souls catch up with our bodies. We plunge into psychoanalysis and the new psychologies as if they were cults to be worshipped instead of experiments to be pondered. We cultivate a taste for literary sensationalism that makes our "de-bunked" biographies read like outhouse jottings. We can't stay long enough in one spot to make a home or long enough on one subject to make a conversation. Where will it all end? Mr. Adams is wise enough not to attempt an answer; but his implication is that, in spite of everything, it will not be in the mad-house.

New York City MARK WISEMAN

Our Own World

MODERN CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL, *by C. Delisle Burns. New York: Macmillan. Price $3.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

THIS misnamed and overconscientious book achieves, in its final chapter, the quality of penetration if not quite that of distinction. It is not the evaluation that its title suggests, but an even-handed exposition of the current order. Stuart Chase or Lewis Mumford prosecutes the modern world more crisply; Charles Beard defends mechanization more pungently. Mr. Burns is neither advocate nor judge; he writes like a quiet, thoughtful British amateur, perhaps a schoolmaster, who walks in the middle of the road and who refuses to raise his voice no matter what he sees about him.

To be quite frank, three quarters of the book is a fairly dull collection of largely familiar observations about our politics, our international relations, our industry, our cinemas, airplanes, and radios. Not until the later chapters does the reader catch a glimpse of a mind which has warmth as well as order and balance. The sharply compressed chapter on The Sciences and Arts has pith, and the final summation of the Characteristics of Modernity should be good reading both for those who feel themselves modern and for those who are honestly curious as to what all the contemporary palaver is about. It is an urbane, (*Continued on page* 158)

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(*Continued from page* 157) moderate presentation of a *Weltanschauung* which most of us attack or defend with so much emotion that we rather fail to understand it.

Mr. Burns puts experimentalism at the head of his characteristics of modernity. This is familiar, but there is an apt corollary. Mr. Burns writes:

> In the earliest forms of art, the artist is evidently struggling to express more than he has skill to express. . . . The modern mind has this same difficulty. We mean more than we can say: and therefore we have a fellow-feeling for our simplest ancestors, which divides us from the complacency of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. We are ourselves the primitives of a new order, facing an unknown future.

But, in Mr. Burns' second point:

> . . . it would be incorrect . . . to suppose that this sense of a new beginning and of experimentalism in new fields makes the modern mind regard the present as only a step towards a better future. . . . The modern mind lives in its own right; not by permission of its ancestors, nor for the sake of its successors.

Modernity goes "deeply into the roots of existence here and now," and finds its finest values there. And finally modernity has a "sense of social cooperation."

Mr. Burns is a little too rational, or a little too well disciplined, to convey the surge and thunder of the new world which Planck, Einstein, Freud, and their companions in discovery have given us. He is by no means silent upon a peak in Darien; he is competently conversational. But he has been there.

GEDDES SMITH

The Evidence in the Case

THE SACCO-VANZETTI CASE, *by Osmond K. Fraenkel. Alfred O. Knopf, Inc., New York City. 550 pp. Price $5.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

NOWHERE in this history and analysis of a famous murder case does the author state in so many words his conclusions as to the guilt or innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti. It is an admirable example of impartial weighing of evidence, a colossal piece of work considering the vast amount of material which he had to sift. Mr. Fraenkel, it seems to me, has, by the very dispassionateness and thoroughness of his technique, thrown into sharp relief the emotional unreason which controlled Massachusetts in its prosecution of the two Italians.

Though lacking the color of a partisan presentation, the book nevertheless stands as a living document, describing for all readers of imagination one of the great human tragedies of the past decade in America. All of the major actors in the tragedy still live—except the two victims, who, as Vanzetti pointed out time and again would be so, live as symbols far more effectively than they could have had they not been electrocuted. If it so happens that Mr. Fraenkel's volume is read by any of these actors who are still moving about their mundane environment, it must cause some of them exquisite discomfort (those of the officials of Massachusetts, including the Lowell Committee, who are sensitive to the acute and impartial analysis of their acts) and others a sorrowful satisfaction (those who tried to stop the tragedy).

I would like to see Mr. Fraenkel's work prescribed for study in government, American history and sociology courses at Harvard University. I would like to see numerous copies of it strewn around the rooms of the Faculty Club at Harvard. What a stimulating game the faculty members might devise with the book these coming dark New England winter evenings when faculty gossip and gossip about the Harvard Houses gets too acid. Let any twelve members of the faculty be chosen by lot as a jury and have the book read aloud to them by the new dean of the faculty. What would be their verdict?

"It is difficult to escape the conclusion that in its treatment of Sacco's alibi the Lowell Committee was not actuated by the impartiality and open-mindedness which the outside world had the right to expect," writes Mr. Fraenkel concerning the Committee's treatment of Sacco's alibi witnesses, Bosco and Guadagni. "Moreover, the manner of the chairman, President Lowell, in his conduct of the examination and in his colloquies with counsel, seems that of a partisan seeking to vindicate a position rather than that of an impartial investigator." What would be the faculty's judgment of this and numerous other similar analyses of the Lowell Committee's reasoning and actions?

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Radicals will reject the volume as a sample of mere liberal scholarship, which it is in its highest connotation. Though differing as an active partisan in the case with one or two of Mr. Fraenkel's analyses and several of his emphases, I consider it a superb piece of work and one of profound significance to everyone concerned with the American system of administering criminal justice. GARDNER JACKSON

Washington, D. C.

Out of Africa

FORTY STAY IN—*A Novel, by John Vandercook. Harper & Brothers. 323 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

'BEWARE, take care, of the Bight of Benin;
Where for one that comes out, there's forty stay in."

From this fragment of a chantey of the African slavers comes the title of John Vandercook's newest book, a novel, the locale of which is Liberia, the last foothold of black sovereignty on the West African Coast. The story concerns itself with the illicit love of an American artist and the wife of a treaty official. Certainly the theme is not new. The incidents of Paul Brand's amours could just as well have occurred in Shanghai—in Galveston—since infidelity is not, I fear, an uncommon phenomenon among Americans in Africa or in the United States. Strange to say, however, this novel does attain a certain distinction, not by virtue of its principal theme but because of the devastating picture which the author draws of the Liberian government. With the recent exposé of Liberian slavery still fresh in our minds, this close-up of the administration of the black republic is particularly interesting; and recent disclosures of the League of Nations' Commission to investigate slavery and forced labor in Liberia tend to confirm its authenticity (see The Survey, March 1, 1931, page 590).

Despite the fact that it is asserted on the fly leaf that the "characters and incidents of this novel are wholly fictitious," one familiar with the contemporary history of Liberia cannot fail to see the close resemblance of some of the characters in the novel with some of the prominent figures in the affairs of the republic. In truth it appears that the author merely employed a rather trite love motif to impart a degree of sentimental interest to a rather grim depiction of the incompetent and pompous bureaucracy which rules Liberia.

In Black Majesty and Tom-Tom, John Vandercook displayed great gifts in interpreting the thoughts and feelings of black peoples in their struggles for freedom and autonomy. It is to be regretted that he did not follow the same technique in this delineation of the African scene. Forty Stay In is not to be compared with his previous efforts. And although it is evident that he has lost none of his brilliant descriptive power, nevertheless this insipid love story will add little, if anything, to his stature. ELMER A. CARTER

Editor, Opportunity

Quick Frank, the Flit!

THE INSECT MENACE, *by L. O. Howard. Century. 340 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

IF the dismal prophecies of Malthus have not been substantiated to date our escape is due at least in part to the work of such men as Dr. Howard, who has seen his duty and done it faithfully and well. Unembittered by his politically engineered retirement from the position of chief entomologist of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, he is continuing through the press the warfare that he has already waged for fifty years against the insect enemies of man. This is scientific popularization which the enlightened public would do well to notice, although it does not profess to inform that yearning body how to control the sex of its offspring, or how its glands affect its personality.

The book is sufficiently full nevertheless of sensational facts. The story begins forty million years ago, when dragon-flies were big as birds and cockroaches became pillars of the British nation, and brings us to the drug-store beetle which thrives on insect powder. Reference is made to the insect carriers of disease; but as might be expected, the bulk of the argument is against the six-legged enemies of produce. These, as well as the losses caused by them and the defenses devised against them, are described at length. One sees huge power sprayers poised upon a mountain top, (*Continued on page* 160)

¶ *"Makes one feel like throwing the works of some other Russian writers in the oil-burner"*
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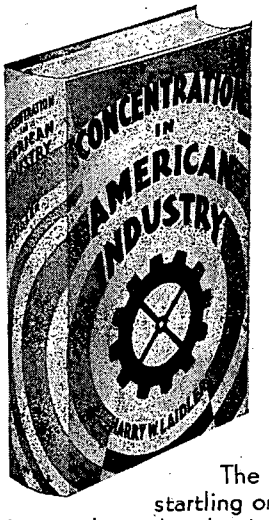

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(*Continued from page* 159) gently dropping arsenic upon the place beneath; but a subtler onslaught against the invertebrate hordes is being made by the use of insect parasites upon insects, whose incredible ferocity makes chemical warfare seem a mild and sweet release.

Dr. Howard's knowledge of applied entomology is extensive, as attested by the references given constantly in his book; it is to be wished that his interest in the profound theoretical work of the universities were as great; no general book on insects should ignore, for example, the contributions of Morgan's laboratory to our knowledge of heredity, or of Goldschmidt's to the concept of sex. But this is a fault more of the Department than of the man. And it is too bad that the excellent care bestowed upon the illustrations for this book on insects could not be extended to the cover, which is adorned by a cross between a spider and a crab. But perhaps this is only intended to be a picture of a Menace, as which it has admirable success.

MARGARET R. MURRAY
Columbia University

Out of the House of Jacob

A JEW SPEAKS; *on Anthology from Ludwig Lewisohn; edited by James Waterman Wise. Harper. 206 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

MR. LEWISOHN writes well and this collection of passages from his autobiographies, his novels, and his essays, includes some of his most eloquent paragraphs. He had never identified himself with any distinctly Jewish group; but after the collisions described in Up Stream and Mid-Channel, he found himself, some ten years ago, converted. Since then his utterances on the Jewish Question, according to the editor of the anthology, speak "with the authentic voice of his people."

His pages glow with the fervor of the missionary. The House of Jacob still has its historic mission to fulfill, to serve mankind by resisting injustice and establishing peace. No child of that house can be thoroughly himself until Jewish-consciousness masters him. He must be prepared to meet prejudice, in some lands violence and death. Even in America he must be brave enough to pay the penalty of being different—he cannot otherwise be true to himself and to the historic ethical genius of his people.

Thus Mr. Lewisohn pleads; and the deep feeling with which he writes will no doubt bring fresh courage to many who share his views. Much will be gained if at the same time he helps non-Jews to see again how, for instance, the present discriminations against Jews in America are no less a stain upon the soul of our country than a cruel injustice to the victims.

To those who know Mr. Lewisohn as essentially an esthete, a hedonist, an individualist, this religious zeal of his and the acclaim accorded to him by Zionists, are somewhat puzzling. There can be no question that his conversion is genuine; and it may even be counted to the credit of the cause he espouses that it was able to work this transformation. Whether, however, the cause itself is all that his zeal insists, is another matter. Jews quite as sensitive as he to the moral miseries of mankind will not all be convinced that at this day in history, Jews or any other people may properly look upon themselves as chosen sufferers or chosen liberators. Fervent nationalisms or racialisms of any kind, no matter how earnestly they repudiate in advance the sins which so often disgrace such sentiments, may work out into as much harm as good. Other doubts too come to mind. But Mr. Lewisohn is probably too impassioned a crusader to weigh them carefully.

Brooklyn Society for Ethical Culture HENRY NEUMANN

America's Sister

SISTER AIMEE, *by Nancy Barr Mavity. Doubleday Doran. 360 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

LET no one turn up a highbrow nose at this chronicle. It is the record of a phenomenon of our times, of a personality in the jazz age of America. After a catch-as-catch-can childhood in a poverty-stricken Canadian community, after years of dragging around the country as an itinerant soap-box evangelist, Aimee Semple McPherson—"Aimee" to the world, "Sister" to her followers—arrived in 1918 in Los Angeles possessed of an automobile and a hundred dollars. Within eight years she had established herself as the religious leader of impassioned

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thousands, had amassed a fortune and was front-page news all over the world.

Aimee gained her power over her people from the inescapable fact of being one of them. No psychological gulf separated her from the most commonplace of her followers. She needed only to ask herself how she would act to know how they would act. It was as simple as that. She gave her people activity, a sense of importance and a good show and they worshipped her to an extent that sometimes confused her own estimate of the relativity of God and Aimee.

Mrs. Mavity has written the story of Sister Aimee, sometimes glittering, sometimes drab, as a good reporter would write the story of a fire. She neither defends nor condemns. She simply records events and analyzes the temperamental vagaries that shaped them. Her account of the notorious kidnapping hoax with its subsequent events is as exciting as a first-rate detective story with the chief culprit joining enthusiastically in the hunt—along with lawyers, police, reporters, racketeers and just plain "nuts." The reader's only regret is that Mrs. Mavity's gorgeous tale stops where it does. He wants her account of "Ma" Kennedy's marital adventure with Guy Edward (What-a-Man) Hudson and of Aimee's marriage to David (Baritone) Hutton. GERTRUDE SPRINGER

Osler

THE GREAT PHYSICIAN: *A Life of William Osler, by Edith Gittings Reid. Oxford Press. 299 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

OSLER again and forever. Not another man, nor yet a different doctor, but the same giant of medical history, the dear physician of all the continents, is made nearer, clearer, easier to picture and, according to our capacities, to worship in this life by Edith Gittings Reid.

Please read it from cover to cover, friends of the associated sciences and arts of human helpfulness. You, the indispensable coadjutors and severest critics of your fellow practitioners, the physicians of your communities, will find here a span of life which revealed in action, word, emotion and observation that miracle of beauty which blesses the combined powers of religion and science when these are devoted to advancing the peace and happiness of mankind.

Those of us who have read Harvey Cushing's classic volumes about this master will be the first, I think, to multiply our original pleasure by the quick and tempting pages of this briefer volume. With rare taste and judgment the author has given us a miniature without loss of detail or truth. We see how the effect of Dr. Osler's conviction of the hatefulness of strife lead him by its golden thread through the most varied human relations with warm friends at every turn.

Almost every physician tries in his heart to be worthy of youthful visions of discovery, usefulness, the glory of being really needed by the spirit of man which Dr. Osler kept throughout his life and which made him a continuing inspiration to his successors.

As we struggle in a narrowing world we shall do well to reread Dr. Osler's prescription against Chauvinism: "Personal, first-hand intercourse with men of different lands, when the mind is young and plastic, is the best vaccination against the disease."

This little friendly volume is a first-rate exemplar of the Oxford papers, with a beautifully spaced title page, the book itself light and the reading page easy and pleasant to the eye. The twelve chapters follow a life of rapid movement which reached to the clouds by following a path Dr. Osler thus defined: "I have loved no darkness, sophisticated no truth, nursed no delusion, allowed no fear." HAVEN EMERSON, M.D.
College of Physicians and Surgeons
Columbia University

Science and the Human Values

THE SCIENTIFIC OUTLOOK, *by Bertrand Russell. W. W. Norton & Co., New York. 277 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

IT is the great tragedy of our age that the rapid growth of science and technology, which should have made possible a clarified and serene philosophy and a material existence safe from privation, should instead have engendered intellectual scepticism and social despair.

Mr. Russell's book is a psychological document on the contemporary tragedy. It does (*Continued on page* 162)

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(*Continued from page* 161) offer a way out, but in the person of a highly representative thinker it expresses the tortured doubts which are assailing the present generation.

He begins with an exposition of scientific method couched in the old-fashioned style and giving no indication of the philosophical setting of science among the other functions of the human spirit. Science is identified with the quest for truth, although the illustrations of scientific method are taken from natural science, never from ethics or philosophy. After discussing the increasing abstractness of science, Mr. Russell passes on to a confession of metaphysical doubts, particularly in connection with the developments of the quantum theory and the Heisenberg principle of indeterminacy. Although he does not endorse Eddington's return to religion, he accepts his theoretical scepticism of science and admits he himself has no solution to offer. But in the next chapter we find Mr. Russell suddenly reaffirming his dogmatic faith in scientific realism and even attacking all those who deduce sceptical conclusions from the principle of indeterminacy. These successive chapters doubtless reflect alternations of mood brought about by the instability of Mr. Russell's philosophic position.

The second and third parts are devoted to science as technique and to the possibilities of using it in building a new society. Mr. Russell prefaces these sections with the remark that the undermining of science by intellectual doubts has in no wise affected the value of science as a technique for the control of nature: it has on the contrary made scientific technology more sinister by divorcing it from the love of truth and tying it up to the love of power. It is on the basis of this distinction between sceptical science and sinister technology that Mr. Russell is able to advocate a sweeping extension of scientific technique in society and then to condemn it in a final chapter on the ground that technology without human values is dangerous. Obviously his condemnation of the extreme scientific society would be far more instructive if he could actually show us how to bring together technological and human values.

The truth is that Mr. Russell has barred the door to a constructive moral outlook by his initial identification of natural science with philosophic wisdom. Having set out to identify the universe with a system of mechanically functioning entities, he inevitably finds himself without ethical guidance for human aspirations. At the same time his scientific system, set up as a self-existent reality and divorced from human intellectual activity, breaks up into sceptical chaos. And as for the technological power of science, it is not because pure science has broken down that this power has become immoral and dangerous, but quite the other way around. Pure science remains as true as it ever was, and it is on its truth that the power of applied science depends. But the same prejudice which regards science as a total truth without relation to other phases of experience has served not only to throw an intellectual cloud on science but also to prevent the development of an ethical control for harnessing the power of technology.

Long Island City, N. Y. BENJAMIN GINZBURG

Unjust Stewards

GRAFT IN BUSINESS, *by John T. Flynn. 319 pp. Vanguard. Price $3.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

A GOOD deal of the doctrine that the end justifies the means enters into the general admiration of success and the successful. And the complacency of the group towards unfair conduct which results in the enrichment of the person practicing it leads some men into a belief that it is "smart," desirable, or perhaps necessary to be "clever," "slick," and even what a blunt or crude person would call "crooked." Indeed most people are unskilled in defining moral issues and distinguish right and wrong only in the simplest situations.

Mr. Flynn in this work, and in his earlier Investment Trusts Gone Wrong, performs the service of presenting a collection of cases in conduct. He points to instance after instance of transactions which discriminating men consider undesirable, and tells them with the clarity and force of a skilful journalist combined with a sense of drama which gives these stories of what he calls parasitic business all the interest inherent in well told yarns of professed roguery.

Mr. Flynn soundly concludes that, however helpful legisla-

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tion might be at some points, the ultimate remedy lies in a process of social immunization. When men generally recognize that a certain type of conduct is undesirable, when they become sufficiently indignant about it, when they learn what facts they should insist on knowing in any transaction, they will not tolerate graft in business, and those who are ready to practice it will not succeed in our economic life. Such books as this help to form standards and to arouse hostility against deviation from them.

Though Mr. Flynn generally shows a well informed understanding of the kind of material he deals with, in an instance or two he suffers from the carelessness of journalistic hurry. Writing of one transaction he says that bankers received 170,000 shares of stock at a dollar a share, and in the same paragraph that "what they paid for the stock is not known." Also in this paragraph he speaks of creditors receiving in settlement of their claims corporate stock which the bankers purchased from them and sold at a large profit. No indication is given that the bankers concealed any information from the creditors, or that the profit was due to anything other than a difference of judgment as to value. He seems to have a tendency to regard large profits as a suspicious circumstance. Though one may view a social order in which such profits may be gained as undesirable, in such an order something more than their existence is necessary to prove an impropriety. In this connection however Mr. Flynn generally does stress the element of concealing facts which should be disclosed.

New York City HASTINGS LYON

Folkways

THE EVOLUTION OF CULTURE, *by Julius Lippert, translated by George P. Murdock. Macmillan. 716 ppp. Price $5.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

THE author of this book, a Bohemian, is ranked with Comte, Spencer and Bastian as one of the founders of sociology. The present volume is a translation from his *Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit in ihrem organischen Aufbau,* published in two ample volumes in 1887. Thus the translation is also an abridgment. Some chapters and parts of chapters have been deleted, though without detracting from the viewpoint of the author and the continuity of his thought.

To Lippert the "care of life" was the first cultural principle, and from this he works from point to point through a considerable abundance of ethnological material from which he weaves a story of cultural evolution that would convince the most rock-ribbed fundamentalist. Until this translation, Lippert was a stranger in this country except to a few scholars who had read him in the German, but where he was read his influence was profound. According to Murdock, the translater, Sumner wrote his Folkways largely after the inspiration of Lippert's works. The present reviewer feels that if certain chapters in this book could be printed in pamphlets they would enjoy a great vogue. For instance, there is the chapter on fire, another on mother right, as well as the chapters on religion and human sacrifice.

Anyone interested in the origins of human history will find this book most intriguing. Lippert loved to search for the hidden pages in this story, and that passion adds the classic touch to his writings. NELS ANDERSON

Seth Low Junior College

Our Debt to Erin

IRELAND IN AMERICA, *by Edward P. Roberts. Foreword by Claude G. Bowers. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 218 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

IN the Foreword Claude Bowers says that the author "has clearly made his research with meticulous care" and that "our historians with few exceptions have done scant justice to Irish contributions to our civilization." Mr. Roberts' book is in large measure an attempt to offset the injustice to which Mr. Bowers refers. Undoubtedly he has endeavored to be thorough and fair in his examination of the evidence, but like other historians in this field he was confronted in many places by a lack of sufficient data to justify confident conclusions. Nevertheless he presents adequate data at least to destroy certain widely prevalent assumptions and traditions. For example, his statement "that not more than half of the colonists were of English origin and that a de-

(*Continued on page* 164)

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(*Continued from page* 163) cided majority of the remainder were Irish" may not enjoy the support of sufficient positive data, but it is at least as well supported as the assertion that the overwhelming majority were of English descent. His exposure of the "Scotch-Irish" myth is particularly effective, inasmuch as he shows that the descendants of Scotch immigrants to northern Ireland are today considerably less than one third of the population of Ulster alone. The prominence attributed to the "Scotch-Irish" element in the colonial population of America is based on the assumption that all the immigrants from Ulster were of that hybrid character. As a matter of fact, not all of the Presbyterians from Ulster have Scotch ancestors; practically none of the other Protestants and none of the Catholics from that province had Scotch blood in their veins. Moreover, not all the Presbyterians were of Scotch extraction.

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National Catholic Welfare Conference JOHN A. RYAN

BOOKSHELF—Fiction

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SUSAN SPRAY, *by Sheila Kaye-Smith. Harpers.* 385 *pp.* $2.50.

THAT the over-lurid reaches of religious ecstacy may be the escape from a drab world and an inner conflict is no news to the psychologist. Here, however, it is not as psychology, but as a compelling story that Sheila Kaye-Smith writes the history of Susan Spray, wanton and prude, a devout and an unscrupulous woman. A half-starved child in England under the Corn Laws, Susan Spray leapt from misery into glory and became an evangelist by ways and means that were self-deluding and sometimes devious. But at least, if justification be needed, she brought romance and a sense of power to those who could not have found them in the world of reality.

THE FIREMAKERS, *by Rollo Walter Brown. Coward-McCann.* 384 *pp.* $2.50.

THE sub-title of Mr. Brown's story is A Novel of Environment, and that environment is coal. Gradually its black dust sifted over what had been a pleasant country village of southern Ohio, blackening, if not defeating, the descendants of Virginia stock who found that coal had become not only their livelihood but their life. Luke Dabney tried to escape, but in the end the economic system was stronger than he, and he again donned his diggers to go back to the mines. Vivid and often moving detail etches the system which governs the lives of these people, making a story strong in its setting rather than in its concern with personalities.

NEW ENGLAND HOLIDAY, *by Charles Allen Smart. W. W. Norton & Co., Inc. 272 pp. Price* $2.50.

THIS is a book for those who like to listen in on their youngers. A dozen young men and young women and a father and mother write their impressions of each other and narrate the normal, slight happenings of a Washington's Birthday weekend in a New England home. The book gives a picture of an average group of decent young Americans, priviliged in education and delayed maturity, not in wealth. The young people fall below what might be expected of them in their ideas, exceed it in their sense of beauty. The method of having each character contribute a chapter and individual point of view is novel; the contrast between the generations is well done. In spite of the lack of action the reader's interest is held.

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THE DESTROYER, *by Ernest Poole. Macmillan. 262 pp. Price* $2.00.

JACK WYCKOFF set out to become a critic of post-war, prosperous America, a "surgeon with a typewriter." He wanted to heal "a world of morons feeding on bunk," to sharpen the criticism of such liberals as his parents, who persisted in seeing constructive as well as lamentable manifestations in the times, and to bring low those who sought only worldly success. But the morons twist his writing to suit their pleasure, and the successful continue to flourish. The destroyer's bitterness destroys nothing but himself. The conflict is set against a background of Broadway and night clubs, Wall Street and Bowery, real homes and half homes; there is one unforgettable scene in which the mother, dying of cancer, fights to save her son's balance. With too much thesis for a good novel, with action and dialogue that take Mr. Poole into strange company, the book nevertheless has the power of sincerity.

ALL PASSION SPENT, *by V. Sackville-West. Doubleday Doran. 294 pp.* $2.50.

FOR more than sixty years she had been the wife of Henry Lyulph Holland, first Earl of Slane, Viceroy of India, finally Britain's Prime Minister. Then with his death there came a lull in her life. Her children were grown; her duties as a great lady now past. For a sunny stretch like an Indian summer, she could indulge in the luxury of privacy, of detachment, the joy of being without doing. Miss Sackville-West's witty excursion into detachment mocks gently the over-seriousness of youth and pictures a luxury of old age that might be worth the dying.

THE LOVE OF MARIO FERRARO, *by Johan Wigmore Fabricius. Simon and Schuster. 448 pp. Price* $2.50.

GRAND movie stuff this, with shots of Capri, a rescue at sea, life on a Paraguayan *estancia,* a revolution, and lots and lots of love and temperament. As a novel, not so good. The people creak too audibly as they are pushed through their extravagant adventures. For some of this perhaps the dialog is responsible. The attempt to render Italian vernacular into English out of Dutch—the author is a Dutchman—yields some startling results. Capri fisher boys simply do not address their aged grandmothers as "You old soak, you."

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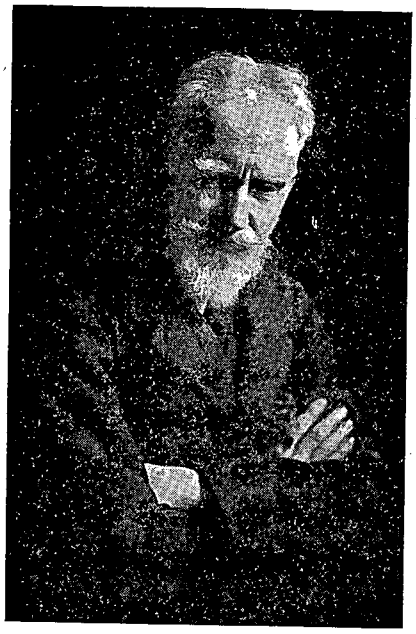

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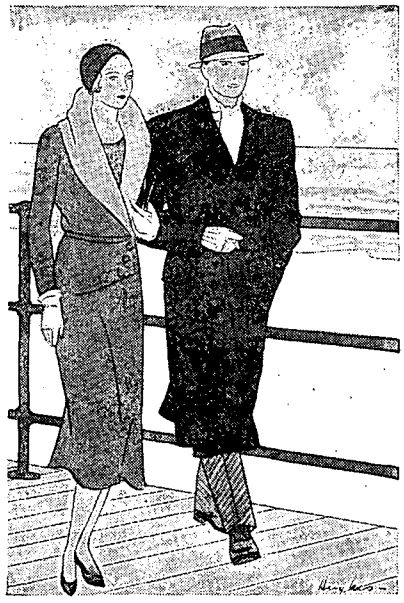

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Talks Around Town

SUBJECTS to please many predilections will be discussed in this country by people in-the-know. In the field of high adventure, William B. Feakins has lined up no less a person than Bertram Thomas, one of the two men (Admiral Byrd is the other) to receive the Gold Medal of the Royal Geographic Society of England, to tell of his crossing the Rub 'Al Khali, the great southern desert of Arabia; and A. F. Tschiffely, whose illustrated lecture on From Patagonia to the Potomac, a two and one half years journey through eleven American republics and thousands of miles of mountains, plains, deserts and jungle, called out five thousand members of the National Geographic Society.

In the international field, Sir Norman Angell, Mary Agnes Hamilton, Ramsay MacDonald's biographer, and Jennie Lee, the young Labour M.P., will reckon with the interest England is sure to command. And of course the list and variety of people who have been to Russia continues to grow: Lincoln Steffens (The Race Between the United States and Russia), S. K. Ratcliffe, who was there in September as correspondent of The New Statesman and Nation of London, James J. Mallon of Toynbee Hall, Prof. Rudolf Broda of Antioch College (The Agricultural Revolution in Russia), Dorothy Thompson (Mrs. Sinclair Lewis), Dr. Frank Bohn, Barclay Acheson of the Near East Foundation (A Ten-Year Contact with Official Soviet Russia), Countess Alexandra Tolstoy. Mexico has a plan too, according to Dr. Eyler N. Simpson, who was associate in Mexico for the Institute of World Affairs. And Dr. Harlan T. Stetson has been delving into the effects of science in human affairs.

Travel Books

THE HAND ME DOWN, *by Student Third Cabin Assn. Holland America Line. 307 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

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THIS handy little book contains the expressions in English, French and German you are most likely to need on board, at sea, customs baggage, on the train, at the hotel, sightseeing, shopping, in the restaurants, at the bank and post office.

NOTES OF A VAGABOND, *by Waldemar Bonsels. Albert and Charles Boni. 274 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

THE author of Maya the Bee and An Indian Journey sets forth not a record of extraordinary experiences but rather a moving philosophical autobiography of a wanderer. The jacket indicates that this is his most popular work in Europe.

THE FAMILY SEES FRANCE, *by Eustace L. Adams. Brewer and Warren. 131 pp. Price $1.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

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(*Continued from page* 165) mode of life, their religion, their philosophy have scarcely been touched by the changes of more than a century. The author has woven his scholarly research into a colorful and exciting narrative, a notable contribution to the story of the American people.

TWELVE SECRETS OF THE CAUCASUS, *by Essad Bey, translated from the German by G. Chychele Waterston. Viking. 323 pp. Price* $3.00.

A ROMANTIC melange of legend and fact, of folklore and adventure, in the high mountains where Europe meets Asia. Here survive the fragments of many ancient races, remnants of forgotten nations, without unity of language or tradition but with curious vestiges of a lost culture. A book to stir the wandering heel of anyone who yearns for adventurous travel.

1900 A. D., *by Paul Morand. Translated by Mrs. Romilly Fedden. William Farquhar Payson. 206 pp.* $3.00.

A BIRDS-EYE view of the year 1900 as it epitomizes a century, told in the shorthand made familiar by Thomas Beer with M. Morand's customary competent superficiality. In rapid succession pass typical figures and activities of the period called by its most characteristic group, *fin de siècle*. We see a cinematic progression of the Dreyfus case, the Exposition, the first automobile, the Dadaists, the divine Sarah, the first performance of l'Aiglon and a final delicious glimpse of high life in the leisurely morning Bois with Marcel Proust in the garb of a soldier eyeing languidly the evasive and elegant cocottes. Twenty illustrations show delightfully costumes and celebrities of the period.

COMPANIONS ON THE TRAIL, *by Hamlin Garland. Macmillan. 539 pp.* $2.50.

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THE FRENCH THEY ARE A FUNNY RACE, *by Lyon Mearson. Mohawk Press. 298 pp.* $2.00.
THE ENGLISH ARE THEY HUMAN? *by G. J. Renier. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. 304 pp.* $2.50.

THE ENGLISH use a knife and fork and the French drink. The French shake hands on introduction and the English smile slightly and say "How do you do." The English take you home to dinner and the French don't. French women who ride bicycles wear pink underwear and English women hunt in breeches. The French keep their art in dark museums and the English haven't any. The English are kind to animals and the French eat horse meat. The English are sex starved and the French—well anyway they like to talk about it.

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Only the coincidence that both these books add to the sum total of available unimportant information could possibly bring them within speaking distance of one another. Mr. Renier in his pompous pricking of the Englishman's pomposity, is funnier than he is human. Mr. Mearson in his slapstick measuring of French customs by American is humaner than he is funny. What's in a name?

PLANNING AND THE WORLD PARADOX

(*Continued from page* 133)

that the discussions should be carried on with full consciousness of the shock of ideas produced by this contemporary projection of two radically different economic systems. The historically-minded were conscious of the difficulties of making fundamental changes without the methods of force and violence. Yet the Congress itself was an aid to faith that at least there is a chance that in the present age of widespread communication, mutual understanding may provide a milieu in which evolutionary processes may have sway without the conflict resulting from the (*Continued on page* 171)

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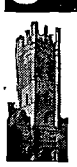
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(*Continued from page* 169) forceful predominance of one system or one set of ideas over another. Upon the apparently simple processes of research and mutual education toward larger social aims for modern industry rests a great hope.

Meanwhile what are the present instruments of international economic cooperation, whether or not they may be an incipient means of planning in the truer sense? International relationships within specific industries, as they have taken form in cartels and other types of organization, were discussed. The fear of cartels, as exercising a pronounced influence on prices, was brought out, their weakness in controlling supplies, and the failure of labor organization to parallel them internationally. Moreover it was suggested that the international organization as opposed to the world organization of industries, brings into play some of the tangents which differing national psychologies present in international political relations. On the whole it would appear that we have no real example of planning by industries on a world scale.

Mass distribution and mass production, however, were pictured to the Congress by Edward A. Filene, the Boston merchant, as growing by the necessities of their own development into forms of world-wide service. Rising purchasing power in the hands of the many, high wages, low costs of production and high total profits, were presented as offering in the "new capitalism" a reincarnation of the force of self-interest as a principle of order and planning in the immediate next stages of industrial development. Experience in the development of mass distribution and mass production in the United States was cited as the basis for the belief in what these new methods in industry may accomplish in the distribution of prosperity and advancing the standards of life. Their success, however, was shown to depend upon substituting facts for guesswork, and right thinking for the bad thinking, "particularly of business men and financiers," to which the present depression was attributed.

THE cooperative movement as another form of planning was suggested as having a contribution to make to the elimination of waste in distribution; and the point was made that it has not realized its possibilities in directing attention "to the lines on which working-class consumption is most susceptible of improvement" and in using its capacity to secure advance on those lines. It was brought out that in China, facing western standards from the very different standpoint of her own traditional ways, the possibility of making scientific management techniques available to the multitude of small producers offered a promising alternative to a big-industry invasion. Obviously the same suggestion would apply to other regions which like China are just entering upon industrialization.

Of the subject of finance, which was discussed in a lively session, it can only be said here that it revealed the necessity for basing banking policies more squarely upon the realities of the process of production and distribution. Space does not permit a full treatment of this important theme, nor is it possible to summarize the equally important session on standards of living and the resources for raising them through international agreement and through the labor movement. Here the session was opened by Albert Thomas, director of the International Labor Organization.

To sum up: while members of the Congress were of two minds as to the practicability of World Social Economic Planning, there was agreement as to the necessity of international economic cooperation. And the trend of positive suggestion was in the direction of the next steps toward a planned economy. In the discussion on international economic treaties the view was expressed that through these treaties and through other growing forms of international organization, such as the League of Nations, the Bank for International Settlements and other proposed or actual bodies, we have already at hand means for first steps toward planning, provided the will is there to use them. This view was opposed by the Soviet delegates who regard the League of Nations as an organization of capitalistic groups and an arena of conflicting interests; an organization which cannot be an instrument for world economic planning. The latter in their view is just (*Continued on page* 173)

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(*Continued from page* 171)

as impossible on a capitalistic basis as national economic planning. Action, however, is needed, and the suggestion made by many speakers, who differed on planning but agreed on this point, was that at once steps should be taken for a world fact-finding or research center, which would gather the facts needed for planning. In the final analysis it is true that every act in the international sphere is part of a pattern which might with better chance of effective results conform to a plan. This is notably true of international banking policies, which certainly constitute direction of economic life. The elements of planning which they lack are not the coercion to which many object, but the research and the resulting co-ordination of production and consumption, which even the exponents of laissez-faire in economic life desire.

What is agreed is that fragmentary planning exists: that instruments for international action already at hand are susceptible of further development; and that the present economic crisis with its suffering for millions of persons throughout the world, demands the exercise of the most expert intelligence which the world's intellectual resources can bring to bear upon a common world task.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

(*Continued from page* 119)

to underwrite unemployment insurance in the states which created it. Actually, it would function as an insurance company and would administer one fund for the participating states, incidentally saving them the administrative overhead of carrying separate funds. The Authority, by its very nature, would be impersonal and remote from political influences in the separate states. A proportion of the members would probably be appointed by each governor, to serve fairly long terms, so the Authority would not change with each change of state administration. It would, of course, have to run itself on a business basis, just as does the Port Authority.

A logical group of states to initiate such an undertaking would be the seven industrial states, the governors of which were called into conference by Governor Roosevelt last winter to discuss problems of unemployment, including unemployment insurance (see The Survey, February 15, 1931, page 546). These seven states—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Ohio—have large industrial interests in common. They have already begun to explore together the possible remedies for unemployment which has been a growing problem in each of the seven states for some years. Two of them have had reassuring experience with a non-partisan body established by treaty to take over a set of problems and responsibilities which they share jointly.

I should like to see the legislative bodies of these seven states call on economic, social service and insurance experts to explore the possibilities of such a project as I have suggested, and to draw up a detailed plan for putting it into effect for an experimental period. An Insurance Authority, given wide powers, carefully safeguarded, would have all the advantages of corporate organization, but it would be a public body. At the same time, it would free the unemployment insurance administration of the region from the criticisms that would almost certainly attach to it in the hands of private carriers, or of state commissions which it is sometimes feared will become political in make-up or method.

When I urge unemployment insurance for this country, I do not suggest it as a "cure" for unemployment. Both European and American experience prove that there is no "cure." Unemployment is a symptom, not a disease. Its elimination depends on our ability to define and deal with the economic maladjustments that produce it. Unemployment insurance is not even a safeguard for all the wage-earners of the political unit which inaugurates it. Properly conceived and administered, it covers only those relatively stable workers for whom payments can be made into the fund on an actuarial basis, and who are unemployed as the result of a dislocation sufficiently severe to lose them their jobs and to keep them jobless over a fairly long waiting period. It does not touch the situation of the unstable or unskilled worker who often shifts from job to job, for the worker in a disorganized industry who is frequently on "short time," nor for the "unemployable." It does hold out a measure of security for the average wage-earner and his family. "Involuntary unemployment" does not find them destitute, nor render them so, if they are covered by unemployment insurance. On the other hand, they lose no stimulus to prudence and thrift by being so covered, because unemployment benefits represent a sharp drop in the amount of the wage-earner's usual income. But to have a steady sum coming in, week by week—fifteen or twelve or even ten dollars—during such an emergency as American wage-earners are now facing, would mean an immense easing of the hardship and uncertainty. It would also make both public and private relief funds reach further, if they could be used to supplement insurance benefits, rather than to "carry" the families of all the unemployed.

As one way of lightening the burden and the misery of industrial hazards, before which the individual is helpless, I believe social insurance has proved its worth in workmen's compensation laws in this country, in similar laws and in experiments with unemployment insurance abroad. I am eager to see us in this country extend the principles of compulsory insurance to cover the unemployment hazard. And I believe that if we are willing to proceed carefully and experimentally, safeguarding our projects against the difficulties the English experience has defined for us, drawing our plans to conform to our social and political conditions, we can lift the fear and ease the suffering that come to American wage-earners and to their wives and children when industry slows up and there are no wages because there are no jobs.

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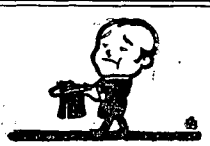

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MEDICINE: THE TORTOISE—WHY PICK ON IT?

(*Continued from page* 129)

inevitable but desirable, can we also be sure that such a development will, for instance, also further the consolidation of medical personnel and the elimination of quackery?

The turtle, if it lives up to its American tradition, will move slowly and will not be utterly confused and disorientated, as seems, in the opinion of many, to have been the case in Germany as a by-product of the development of the social insurance program there. On the other hand, it may stand still and thereby run the risk of losing for a time, at least, its natural leadership, as is believed by many observers to have threatened medicine in England. There, however, this leadership has only recently been manifested in a highly revitalized form, through the extremely ambitious and significant plans announced by the British Medical Association for the medical care of all elements in the population.

It is to be hoped that American medicine, however much more extensively it may have to be organized, will move in this direction under its own leadership and with sufficient caution to make certain that, concomitant with these organization developments, there may be assured higher standards of training for the healing art, together with the gradual elimination of uncontrolled and illegitimate competition. There should also be assured a higher level of ability and a greater opportunity for the private as well as the public practice of preventive medicine. There should be preserved, if possible, a full freedom for growth and individual development on the part of the physician, and a free choice of physician on the part of the layman. There ought to be greater opportunities as well as more adequate compensation for medical men in public health and in research. The economic stability of the private practitioner, even though part of his time is "socialized," should be enhanced. He should be relieved of the burden and embarrassment of collections and bad debts. Any modified relationship between the patient and doctor ought to aim ultimately at the removal of the economic barrier between the sick and the needed service. It ought to encourage early diagnosis and prompt treatment. It ought to lessen preventable illness and at the same time encourage the development of a sufficient amount of remunerative work in the private preventive field, possibly more than to offset the inevitable financial loss to the medical profession through disease-preventive activities. Finally, any new system should have as its final test the health status of the people as measured by their morbidity and mortality rates, their productivity, sense of security, general vitality and joy of living.

The Turtle's Lot a Happy One

IT is the writer's belief that the situation in this country today as compared with the recent history of medicine elsewhere is, in spite of all the varied and severe criticism, really a fortunate one. We have the good and bad precedents elsewhere. We have more time and greater economic leisure. We have a close-working relationship between constructive social lay leaders and the leaders of the medical profession. Finally, we have some indication of an awareness on the part of the medical profession itself that current crises are somewhat extraordinary and need thorough as well as constructive attention. For these reasons, it seems a fairly safe guess that ultimately the American medical turtle will "make the grade."

In the meantime, the public should be patient and try to remember what medicine has contributed to its welfare through research, disease prevention and the advances in medical and surgical treatment. It should also remember from what pseudo-medical waves of credulity, stupidity and absurdity it has been protected by the irritating ultra-conservatism of privately controlled medicine. Let us not forget the assets of medicine's defects.

Of course, it goes without saying that never before was the need so great for the turtle itself to realize that the times demand of it a greater degree of imagination, self-appraisal, initiative, constructive impulse, creative and self-sacrificing effort, and cooperative enterprise than at any time in the past.

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